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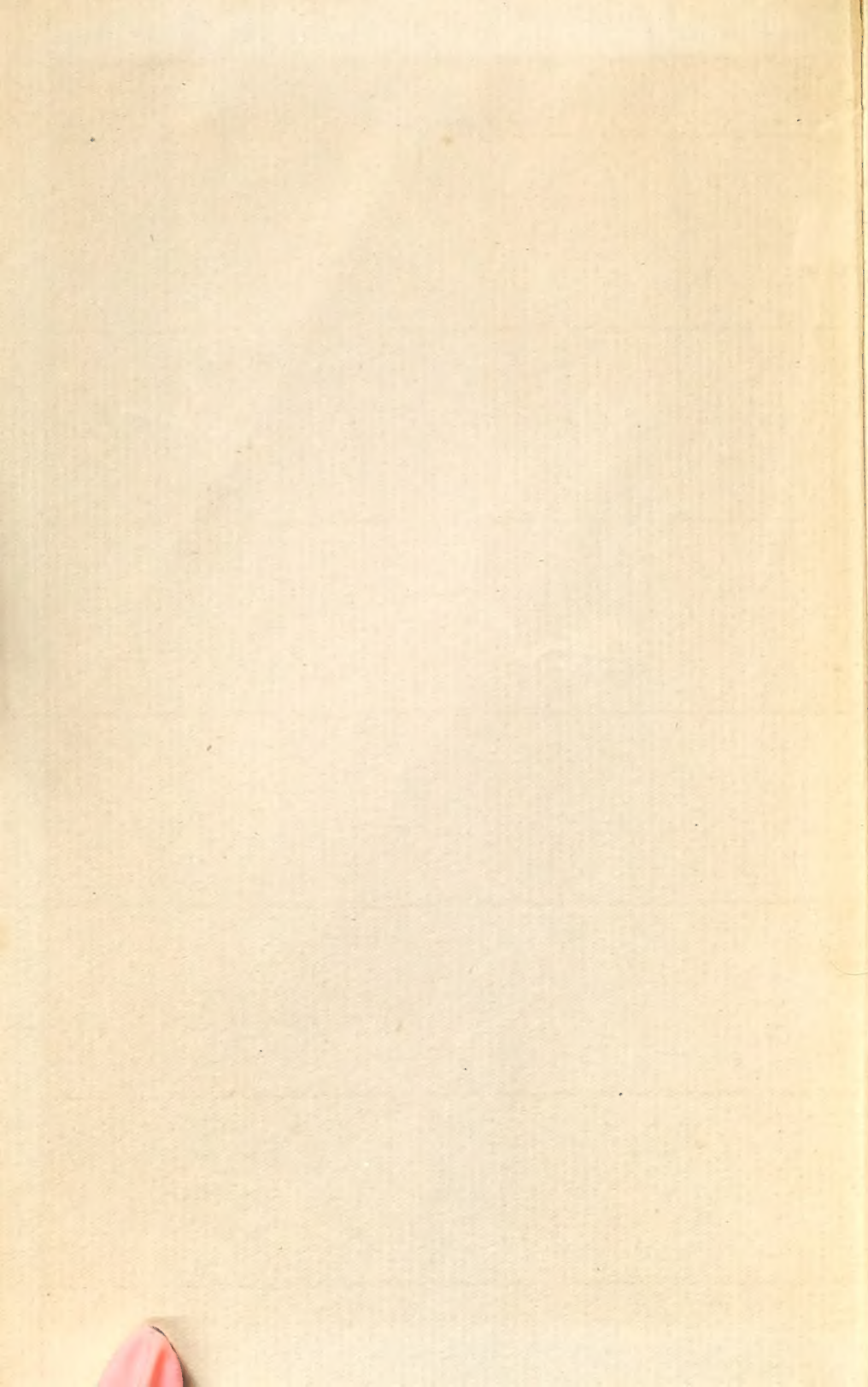
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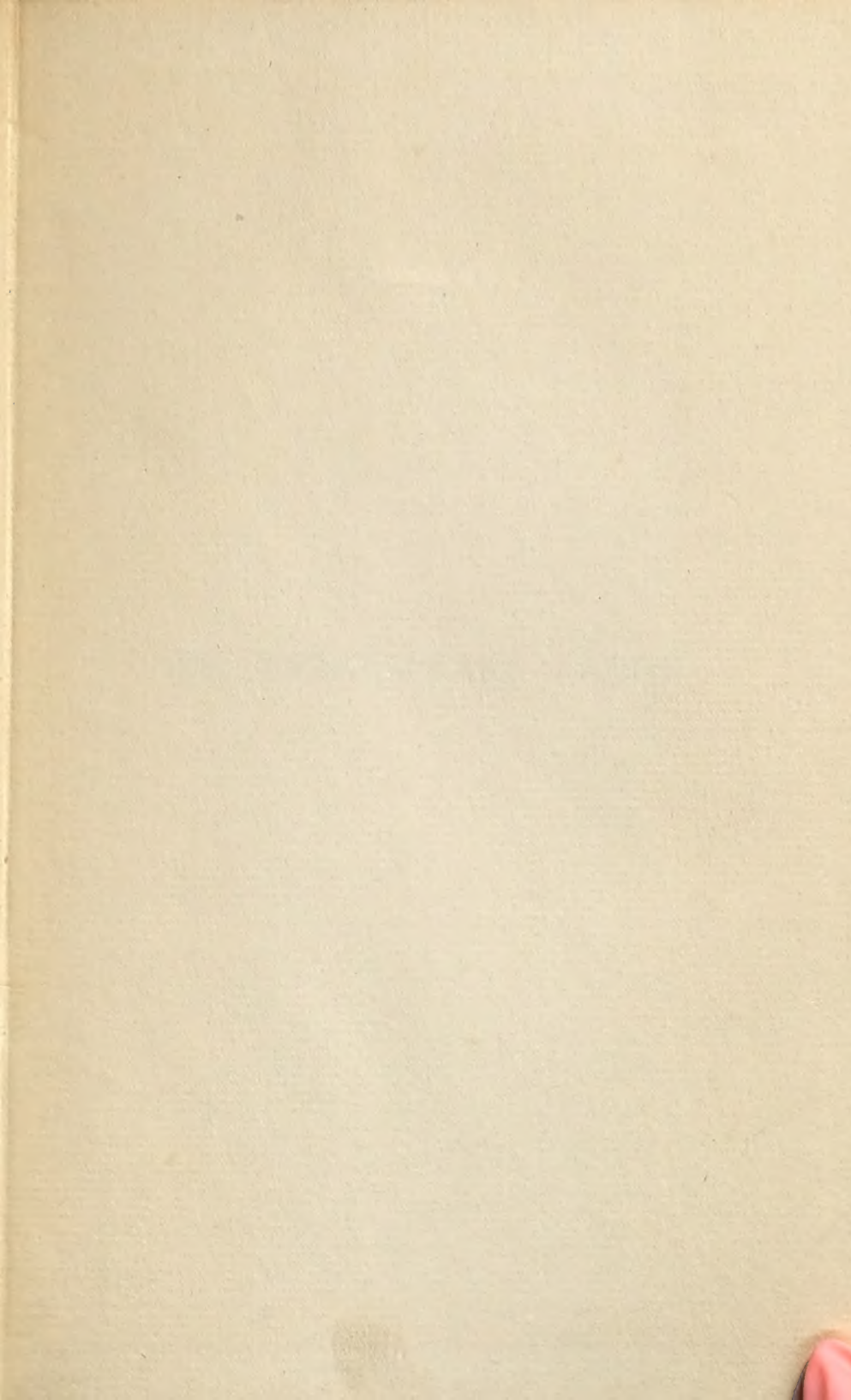
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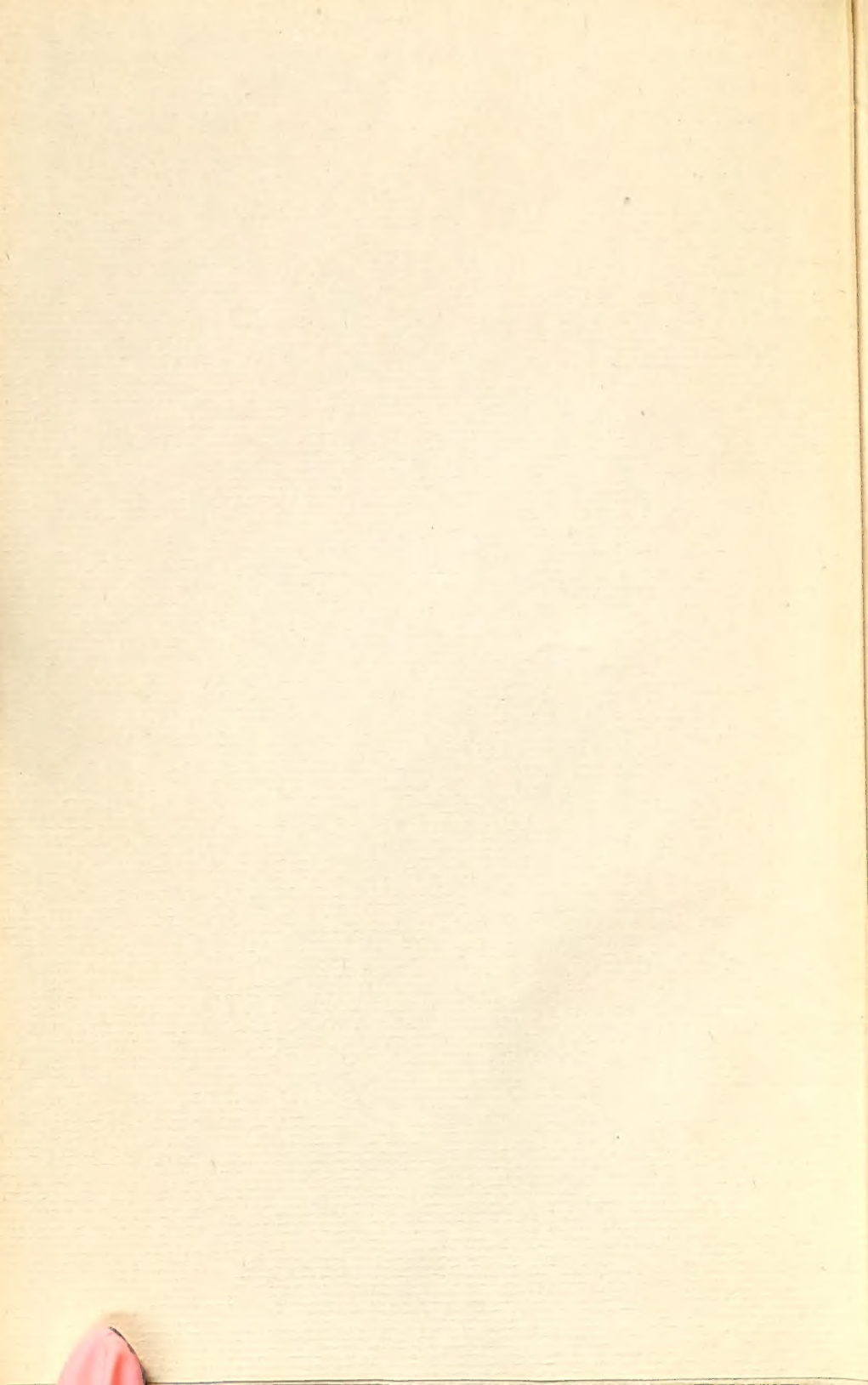
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THE SHAKESPEARE CANON

- I: THE ORIGATION OF "HENRY V"
II: THE ORIGATION OF "JULIUS CÆSAR"
III: THE AUTHORSHIP OF "RICHARD III"

John MacKinnon
BY

J. M. ROBERTSON
11

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE 	vii
 I. THE ORIGATION OF "HENRY V" 	I
I. The Problem Outlined 	I
II. Chronology and Metrics 	4
III. Workmanship and Matter 	9
IV. The Line of Growth 	14
V. Probable Collaborators 	20
VI. The Prologues 	31
VII. The Significance of the Quarto 	35
VIII. Phraseological Clues 	37
IX. Vocabulary Clues 	45
X. A Decisive Issue 	51
 II. THE ORIGATION OF "JULIUS CÆSAR" 	66
I. The Problem Outlined 	66
II. Fleay's Hypothesis 	70
III. Quality of the Play 	79
IV. Critical Censures 	82
V. Flaws of Construction 	85
VI. The Character of Portia 	90
VII. Primitive Elements 	92
VIII. Compilation and Compression 	95
IX. The Pre-Shakespearean Play 	103
X. A Marlowe Play? 	106
XI. Marlowe Matter? 	113
XII. Antony's Oration 	119
XIII. The Conception of Cæsar 	123
XIV. Drayton Matter? 	126
XV. Jonsonian Revision 	134
XVI. Chapman Matter? 	140
XVII. Summary 	149

	PAGE
III. THE AUTHORSHIP OF "RICHARD III"	155
I. The Problem Indicated	155
II. The First Crux	157
III. Marlowe Matter	160
IV. Heywood Matter?	163
V. Kyd Matter?	167
VI. Queen Margaret, Marlowe's	170
VII. Clarence's Dream, Marlowe's	171
VIII. Further Marlowe Clues	175
IX. Marlowe and Shakespeare Touches	178
X. The Richard-Elizabeth Dialogue—Apparent Clues to Heywood	181
XI. Marlowe and Heywood Clues	187
XII. Marlowe in the Fifth Act	189
XIII. Summary	191
EPILOGUE ON THE CHARACTER PROBLEM	195
INDEX	201

PREFACE

THESE studies in the Shakespeare Canon are submitted to students, not as a body of uniformly assured results, but as the outcome of much protracted effort to reach testable and tested opinions. After twenty revisions, one has some notion of the possibilities of variations of view. But after a certain point one is fain to seek either criticism or confirmation: for the time being, this is as far as one can get. The main theses, long held, are, however, put with confirmed conviction.

Old doubts as to the possibility of getting attention for such inquiries have been partly removed by the welcome emergence, in this field, of Messrs. Pollard and Dover Wilson, who in 1919 asked the readers of the *Times Literary Supplement* whether Shakespeare was likely to write in 1599 in the manner of certain passages cited by them from HENRY V. The same challenge may as fitly be put with regard to much of JULIUS CÆSAR. After many more revisions, accordingly, I have since decided to table certain discussions as putting some of the more prominent problems that have arisen for me in Shakespeare study, the origination of HENRY V being one of them. Others have been set forth in previous essays:¹ these, which before were but outlined, are now handled at some—I hope not undue—length, after a renewed pilgrimage.

It may still be necessary to explain that the method of “clues,” herein at times resorted to, is not regarded as in itself a process of proof. It has happened to me to write, on another theme, a bulky volume of which a main object was the urging, with much iteration (indicated in the index), of the difficulty of certain

¹ *Did Shakespeare write “Titus Andronicus”?* (1905); *Shakespeare and Chapman*, 1917; *The Problem of “Hamlet,”* 1919; *The Problem of “The Merry Wives of Windsor,”* 1917.

problems, and then to be invited by one reviewer to admit the existence of the very difficulty in question; while a second reviewer took offence at two iterations of a vital position which seemed to me to need them. Let me say, then, that I regard these questions of disputed authorship in old plays as soluble only by a combination of many kinds of test, in which clues of phrase and vocabulary are but tentative steps. Conviction is licit only when *every* order of evidence has been faithfully considered. The clues in question may often help; and they may mislead, for lack of width of examination.

For instance, Mr. Dugdale Sykes, who has done really valuable work by their means in several important inquiries,¹ seems to me at times to rely fallaciously on the clue of "tics" of phrase. He claims to trace the work of Peele, for example, largely by tics such as "I mean" and "O how!" and "this damnèd deed" and "brazen gates." But "I mean" occurs at least half-a-dozen times in Marlowe, and about as often in Greene; and Kyd has "brazen gates," and "damnèd deed"; and Marlowe has "brazen doors"; and Greene "brazen doors" and "gates of brass"; and there are far more "O how" lines in Marlowe, Greene and Kyd than in Peele: though Mr. Sykes says he cannot find them. These, however, are oversights which may befall any of us; and by means of better clues Mr. Sykes does some really sound identification. I think he is substantially right, for instance, in seeing much of Peele in *THE TROUBLESOME RAIGNE OF KING JOHN*. On the other hand, a disinclination to recognise variety of authorship—a thing so common in Elizabethan plays—makes him insist on seeing "a single author" throughout that piece, because of "the *recurrence* of certain expressions and tricks of style." There is here a refusal to apply the style test as apart from the notation of scattered phrases; and one result of that method is that Mr. Sykes credits to Peele the first scene in *ALPHONSUS EMPEROR OF GERMANY*, *because* Peele copies a passage from it in *DAVID AND BETHSABE*. Now, by style test, one

¹ See his *Sidelights on Shakespeare*, Stratford-on-Avon, 1919.

would say, the first scene in *ALPHONSUS* is Marlowe's, and Peele's imitation is one of many such in his work.

When, on his unitary principles, Mr. Sykes insists on assigning to Massinger a speech in *THE TWO NOBLE KINSMEN* which is commonly (and in my opinion rightly) assigned to Shakespeare, he is likely to set up an unfortunate distrust of his method in general, though it is in large part sound.

A generation ago the late Robert Boyle put forward the two theories that (1) the parts of the *KINSMEN* that are not by Fletcher are really by Massinger, and (2) that the non-Fletcher parts of *HENRY VIII* are really by Massinger also. The latter thesis is probably sound, though Spedding, who began the demonstration that the bulk of *HENRY VIII* is by Fletcher, was satisfied that the rest is Shakespeare's. Browning held that there is nothing in the play beyond the scope of Massinger, and many agree with him. Indeed, Mr. C. Knox Pooler, in his exceptionally competent edition of the play in the Arden Series, does not conceal his leaning to that view, though he sees some Shakespearean matter ruinously re-written. (The alternative possibility of a Massinger-Fletcher play partly re-touched by Shakespeare for his company does not seem to have been considered.)

Not content with supporting this well-grounded thesis of Boyle, Mr. Sykes lends an equally confident support to the other. That, however, is by far the weaker, in that it takes no account of the vital difference of the *versification* in the best parts of the *KINSMEN* from anything in *HENRY VIII*. In the latter play there is not one great passage of Shakespearean poetry, though Meredith acclaimed, as a sample of Shakespeare's best, one of the Fletcher passages, which, as Mr. Pooler notes, are traditionally popular. Mr. Boyle's method was the fallacious one of founding on Massinger's admitted addiction to echoing Shakespeare throughout all his work, and arguing thence that every "Shakespearean" passage in the *KINSMEN* is Massinger's

because in some parts of the play his hand may be pretty clearly traced.

Mr. Sykes, in turn, commits himself to a still weaker position. Citing (among a number of others) this parallel :—

Though I know
His ocean needs not my poor drops
(*Two Noble Kinsmen*, I, iii, 8);

Though I know
The ocean of your apprehensions needs not
The rivulet of my poor cautions
(*Believe as You List*, v, i),

he reasons thus (*italics mine*) :—

This parallel *alone* should be *conclusive* of Massinger's *authorship*. There is no possibility of explaining a resemblance of such a kind as this by the supposition that Massinger imitated Shakespeare. Though he has many echoes and reminiscences of Shakespearean passages, he does not slavishly reproduce their very words and manner of phrasing. We have here an instance of the self-repetitions typical of Massinger.

Here Mr. Sykes is at odds not only with logic but with the originator of the thesis. Boyle wrote, not only that Massinger's mind was "steeped in Shakespeare," to which Mr. Sykes assents, but that "There are innumerable instances of his repeating a Shakespeare phrase, when led to it by a similarity of situation, *so literally* that all idea of plagiarism is excluded."¹ This being true in substance (though the proposition is badly confused), it is impossible to draw Mr. Sykes's inference. He would have been on stronger ground if he had suggested that Shakespeare may have reduced Massinger's redundancy to terseness in the KINSMEN passage, of which, however, that from BELIEVE AS YOU LIST looks like a lumbering imitation. But the position worsens. Boyle went on to cite from a speech of Pisander (= Marullo) in the BONDMAN (IV, ii), the passage of a dozen lines beginning "The noble horse," and then to declare that "The perfection of art in these magnificent lines is what we are accustomed to regard and call Shakespeare To anyone at all conversant with Massinger's ring, they are characteristic of

¹ N.S.S. *Trans.* 1880-5, Pt. ii, p. 378.

him, *but hardly more so than Arcite's invocation to Mars in our play.*"¹

Our negative to this is prompt, firm, and irrevocable. Such a claim of parity might be made over the manner of some short passages of verse in Shakespeare and Massinger, as over fragments in Shakespeare and Jonson, or even Chapman—passages in which diction merely runs high but does not rise to the wing, or in which an unraised theme receives light treatment. But the moment we pass to long passages in the great style, they are at once vitally differenced—especially as to Massinger—by the intense electric concision of Shakespeare's speech, and yet further by rhythm. Shakespeare's verse on the wing, as in the invocation to Mars—even though the flight be, as here, rather one of magnificent rhetoric than of mighty passion—is of another pinion than any before or since. That versification is beyond the craft of any rival; and Boyle's averment is but the proof that his sense of rhythm was defective. This had best be put dogmatically; for it seems useless to argue upon it, though rhythm is quite susceptible of analysis. On such an issue, men can but divide in hostile camps.

And so it is with some of us and Mr. Sykes, who, met by challenge on this head, first tries to reduce the issue by leading down from the best thing in the play to less great passages from the same hand, and then seeks to prove Massinger capable of the best by citing from him a passage that is positively leaden with double-endings. It is only the fatality of a bad cause that could lead an otherwise inductive inquirer thus to support error of judgment by error of proof. Mr. Sykes actually divagates so far as to argue that Massinger's admiration for Shakespeare may have led him in his *early* days so deeply to study his master's magic as to catch his very secret, and to originate a supreme passage which, admittedly, he never again equalled. That is to say, he saw the best, aspired, and attained, and thereafter contentedly declined to a mean between

¹ *Id.* p. 393.

Rowley and Fletcher.¹ Such propositions are warnings—as is Mr. Sykes's insistence on reckoning Peele the sole author of the *RAIGNE*, thus making that workman do his best in historic drama at his first attempt, and never again come near it.

This leaning to unitary ascriptions visibly controls Mr. Sykes's treatment of the *NOBLE KINSMEN*. It is not clear why he assigns to Fletcher anything; but he will not assign to Shakespeare a single passage. Mainly because he is averse from connecting Shakespeare with a play of which many *parts* are poor, he persists in an assignment which is for some of us a mere defiance of the literary sense. Massinger, in our opinion, *could not* have written the "Mars Arimpotent" speech: its rhythm is unexampled and unapproached in all his verse. And this test of rhythm is inexorable, as indeed is the general test of style, which analyses into tests of diction, thought, phrase, rhythm, manner, and metrics. When, further, Mr. Sykes insists that *A LOVER'S COMPLAINT* is in the style of Shakespeare, there seems to be no way of appealing to him, even by the evidence of the tests which he recognises. Here the task of re-assigning supposititious work comes to a deadlock, and there is giggling in Gath.

Still more serious, perhaps, is the kind of conflict set up by Professor Parrott when, in his essay on "Shakespeare's Revision of *Titus Andronicus*," he explicitly and confidently affirms, with regard to the double-ending in versification, that "from the very first" Shakespeare "quite outranked all his predecessors in the frequency with which he employed it." This can be shown to be a capital error, vitiating every investigation that proceeds upon the assumption made. The unquestionably early work of Shakespeare exhibits far lower percentages of double-endings than are reached not merely in some scenes of *TITUS ANDRONICUS* but in

¹ As Mr. Pooler aptly puts it: "His [Massinger's] metre is the work of a man who made variety an end in itself instead of securing variety by permitting the meaning and the rhythm to go hand in hand." But this is hardly a matter of "permitting." It is a function of genius—that is to say, of special faculty.

² Essay cited, *Modern Languages Review*, Jan., 1919, p. 24.

such unquestionably early plays as ARDEN OF FEVERSHAM and SOLIMAN AND PERSEDA; in Marlowe's version of B. I of LUCAN; in ALPHONSUS EMPEROR OF GERMANY (admitted by Prof. Parrott to be pre-Shakespearean); in the latter parts of Kyd's CORNELIA; in Act II of EDWARD III, and in some of the scenes (probably added after the first production) of Marlowe's signed and unquestioned plays; to say nothing of his share in the HENRY VI plays, in which Prof. Parrott admits Shakespeare's share to be small. The Professor's theory is irreconcilable with the percentages of 1 HENRY IV, JOHN, ROMEO, LOVE'S LABOUR, and the DREAM; and his assignments to Shakespeare of portions of TITUS, on the primary basis in question, simply cannot stand. Such an error, on the part of a well qualified scholar, is a set-back to the whole task of discrimination of authorship.

One can but persevere on what seem to be the sound lines of applying first the general tests of metrics, style, and treatment, and, where these impugn either in whole or in part a play assigned to Shakespeare, in seeking for a solution by marks of phrase, idea, vocabulary and diction which point to contemporaries who may be shown to have been likely sharers in the challenged performance. This procedure was originally followed by me over the problem of TITUS ANDRONICUS, where, with differences on detail, the general results have been by a number of critics found satisfactory. It is a pleasure to be able to point, further, to the convincing proof wrought out by the late Rupert Brooke that the play of APPIUS AND VIRGINIA, ascribed to Webster but clearly not written by him, is really the work of Thomas Heywood, with perhaps some little re-touching by Webster in parts.¹ That demonstration rightly set out from the style test, and proceeded by way of clues of versification, diction, and vocabulary.

In the present enquiries, the problems are of the same kind, whatever be the measure of success in solving them. A negative has to be expanded into a positive

¹ *John Webster and the Elizabethan Drama*, 1916, p. 161 sq.

conviction by showing not only that Shakespeare did not do certain work, but that certain other dramatists probably did it. This is a tedious and difficult process, but it is the only way of reaching anything like complete proof, as proof goes. Impatient people should just leave it alone. For the other excellent persons who can open their Shakespeare at any page of the composite or the spurious plays and see no difference of source between Shakespeare's gold and other men's copper, I have all proper respect. But the inculcation of their views on the reading world in general is to my mind a miseducation of the multitude, a social disservice which moves me to counter-measures. A large amount of work has already been done in the methodical discrimination of the avowedly composite plays of Webster, Dekker, Beaumont and Fletcher and Massinger, and others; and only an uncritical traditionalism can refuse to face similar problems in the supremely important and interesting case of Shakespeare.

Cheerfully do I recognise that all attempts to disintegrate a long-received Canon, or even to carry further a disintegration already begun, are fitly to be met by severe scrutiny. I ask only that the scrutiny shall be truly critical and not prejudiced. It should be in the nature of "Treasury control" over all new projects of public expenditure. Treasury control, indeed, in my day (things are said to have changed, latterly), used to proceed on the preliminary principle that in human affairs the new game is never worth the candle. But it waived that bias when evidence to the contrary was forthcoming; and the critical attitude towards innovating theory in matters literary should be at least as accommodating to the pressure of new ideas. If the conservative critic refuses all accommodation, he will himself in turn be criticised. He has certainly a right to ask that the attempt to innovate shall not be hastily made. Perhaps this volume may offer some evidence that that demand has here been respected.

THE ORIGATION OF "HENRY V"

I.—THE PROBLEM OUTLINED

In all the mass of critical discussion over the doubtful elements in the Shakespeare Plays, no open challenge, so far as I remember, has ever been offered to the authenticity of HENRY V.¹ Malone marks the play as "undisputed"; and Fleay, ready as he was to relieve Shakespeare of the HENRY VI trilogy, to recognize other hands in RICHARD III and to surmise an original for RICHARD II, pronounces HENRY V "undoubted."² And this has always been a ground of perplexity to some of us who have from our earliest reading seen in HENRY V much un-Shakespearean verse, much crudity of dramatic conception, much weak repetition of the old FAMOUS VICTORIES OF HENRY V, and a frequent poverty of feeling strangely incompatible with the chronological position assigned to it, immediately after the HENRY IV plays. Like the old hero-play EDWARD III (which on the score of one notable episode has been fallaciously assigned by a number of eminent writers to

¹ This was written seven or more years ago. In the *Times Literary Supplement* of 13th March, 1919, appeared one of the important and illuminating essays of Messrs. A. W. Pollard and J. Dover Wilson, in which they led up to a "theory of an intermediate play acted by Strange's men before 1592 and retouched by Shakespeare." Though my theory had been outlined in *Shakespeare and Chapman*, 1917, p. 246, theirs was quite independently arrived at; and as the main proposition gains from such twofold advocacy I leave my own essay here as it stood.

² Mr. E. H. C. Oliphant, who has scrutinised the plays for "early" and alien matter, decides that "*Henry V* contains one fragment of doubtful authorship, the last twenty-two speeches of III, ii, containing the chatter of the Scotch, Welsh, and Irish captains. . . . The rest of the play is undoubtedly Shakespeare's."—*Modern Languages Review*, April, 1909, p. 344.

Shakespeare), in its serious as distinguished from the comic scenes it presents war mainly as a declamatory matter of reciprocal rant and taunt between the leading antagonists, with scenes of deadly peril on the part of small English forces and leading heroes, premature and fatuous exultation on the part of the overwhelming enemy, and miraculous triumph over preposterous odds. Can this as a whole be the work of the limner of Hotspur and Kate, Falstaff and Harry?

There are three main tests whereby to try such a question—the tests of manner, matter, and construction. By the first, much of the play is put in doubt at once, being written in a pre-Shakespearean verse, vigorous without sweetness, powerful without the lithe grace of the Master's movement, often crude and prosaic in diction and lame on the feet. Other parts as obviously avow his hand—though hardly the hand that is felt in the greater sections of *TROILUS*, assigned by some to the same year; but the presence of the genuine work is no answer to the challenge set up by the other. The substance is just as anomalous.¹ To a large extent the play consists of the merest comic relief; and that matter is incomparably inferior to the comic relief in 1 and 2 *HENRY IV*, which by universal assumption preceded *HENRY V*. In the Falstaff plays the comedy is always interwoven, lightly but sufficiently, with the cothurnate progress of the blank verse play: in *HENRY V*, though the King is made to talk to Fluellen, and even to Pistol, the comic matter is often dragged in as it were by the heels; and, lacking Falstaff, it has little

¹ Mr. Hereward T. Price, whose essay on *The Text of Henry V* (Newcastle-under-Lyme, 1919) is an important contribution to the problem of the relation of the Quarto to the Folio text, objects (p. 40) to the outline of the present argument given in *Shakespeare and Chapman* that the "method is chiefly verbal," by way of a list of words that are rare in *Henry V*, but more or less frequent in Chapman. Mr. Price has overlooked the fact that in the outline in question the play is expressly assailed as being in large part un-Shakespearean both in style and substance. The vocabulary clues were employed to trace one hand, not to prove that Shakespeare could not have used the words. The present essay follows the same method.

saving savour. The dramatist, we are constantly told, is staging "the hero of his manhood." For a large part of the time we get more farce than heroism; and the heroism is again and again in the taste and manner of the pre-Shakespeareans. To read the King's speeches at Harfleur without perceiving this is to reveal the power of tradition to narcotise the æsthetic sense.

The question of structure or composition is already involved in that of matter; but when considered apart from the other, it sets up the same impression of a mosaic of disparate parts. The prologues are no mere embellishment: upon them the action at times heavily relies; and like so many of the speeches they hint of a pre-Shakespearean drama. From the second we descend precipitately to the new "relief" of Nym (who was not in HENRY IV) and Bardolph: after II, ii, there is nothing in the nature of plot; and after taking farewell of Falstaff¹ we have but a series of scenes and speeches, some in the old style of EDWARD III, some in a newer vein. But at the end of the battle of Agincourt we come upon a *rifacimento* that testifies beyond all challenge or evasion to a process of re-composition. Partly by means of the new Gower-and-Fluellen machinery, there are incorporated three versions of an episode which cannot be historically combined; and the complication, singularly enough, is not managed to the credit but—for modern minds—to the discredit of the hero. To accept all this as the outcome of a labour of love on the part of Shakespeare when near his intellectual maturity is surely not possible to considerate criticism. Even Mr. Oliphant allows that "either the work is very hurried, or it has been greatly curtailed."

Mr. C. Moore Smith, in the preface to his excellent edition of EDWARD III, combating the argument that a

¹ It is hard to doubt that Shakespeare intervenes here; but could it be he who makes carrion of Quickly in v, i, naming her *Doll*? Is not that part of an older play sequence which is departed from in 2 *Henry IV*?

play as a whole is not to be reckoned Shakespeare's if it contains a number of words not used by him elsewhere, remarks that "if we take up the play of HENRY V, we shall find a number of words [list in footnote] not used elsewhere by Shakespeare, but no one on that account would doubt the genuineness of that play." Later in the same preface, dealing with the structural parallelism between HENRY V and EDWARD III, he observes that "HENRY V is a play so glorious that it throws the war scenes of EDWARD III into insignificance; yet it seems clear that the author of HENRY V had EDWARD III present to his mind when he so far surpassed it." This assumes that EDWARD III must be the older play—an assumption which we shall find some reason for questioning. If it be granted, the claim would hold good with reservations. If we place "original" before "author" in the clause last cited, and waive for the time the assumptions that EDWARD III is the older play and that the "author" of HENRY V was Shakespeare, the thesis of parallelism is, I think, indisputable—save indeed as regards the "so far surpassed it." That claim is rather conventional than critical, if we have regard to the serious action of HENRY V, apart from one or two speeches and episodes. The two plays as wholes are, so to say, primarily twins. Whether that assumed to be the later is a great advance, as a whole, on the earlier, is a point to be pronounced upon hereafter. The thesis here undertaken is that HENRY V is not *originally* a play of Shakespeare's at all.

II.—CHRONOLOGY AND METRICS

With the argument concerning "once-used words" in the Shakespeare collection of plays, it is unnecessary at

this stage to deal, as the present argument does not proceed primarily upon clues from vocabulary. Since once-used words occur in all plays, their presence in any can never *prove* mixed authorship: it can only furnish a clue to be followed when heterogeneity is otherwise indicated. Accordingly, I would invite the reader to face at once the main dilemma set up by the assumption, hitherto universal, that HENRY V was written by Shakespeare as it stands in or about 1599, and 1 HENRY IV in 1596, 1597, or 1598. It is only fair to say that the case for his original authorship of HENRY V need not be absolutely staked on the common positing of the 1599 date, which is always grounded on these lines of the Chorus-Prologue to Act v.:

Were now the General of our gracious Empress,
As in good time he may, from Ireland coming,
Bringing rebellion broached on his sword,
How many would the peaceful city quit
To welcome him!

The reference is almost certainly to Essex,¹ who set out on his expedition to Ireland in April, 1599, and returned in September of that year. "This being granted," writes Mr. P. R. Daniel, "it is scarcely possible to imagine that any portion of the play could have been written after that [the latter] date. Nor can we suppose that any portion of it was written long before that date. It was certainly written after the second part of HENRY IV, as the promise of it in the epilogue of that play sufficiently proves. . . . The earliest date assigned to this second part of HENRY IV is 1596; but the latest, 1598, is more probably the right one. Meres, who in his WITS' TREASURY, 1598, mentions HENRY IV, is silent as regards HENRY V; and it is by no means certain that

¹ It has been suggested that the passage may refer to Mountjoy, who went to Ireland in 1600 to do what Essex had failed to do. But Mountjoy's name at that stage excited no such enthusiasm as was roused by that of Essex before his fall.

6 THE ORIGATION OF "HENRY V"

in his mention of HENRY IV he included both parts of that play."¹

At the very start, this thesis is open to obvious demur. We are not really entitled to assume (though we plausibly might) that the Chorus-Prologues to HENRY V are exactly coeval with the play;² and those of us who have always denied that they—or all of them—are Shakespeare's, must admit that he might be held to have written the play years before 1599, though we do not argue that he did. Further, the promise in the epilogue to 2 HENRY IV is not fulfilled in HENRY V as it stands. Falstaff is not "in it" according to the forecast. And though it is not here maintained that the play *as it stands* ante-dated 2 HENRY IV, a champion of Shakespeare's original authorship might conceivably argue that it did. Especially well might such a one argue for a much earlier dating of 1 HENRY IV in respect of the very low percentage (5.1) of double endings in that play—a fact never yet loyally faced.

But let us come at once to the central issue. Those who claim that Shakespeare wrote HENRY V in 1599 are crediting him not only with a quantity of exceedingly trivial prose, but with a quantity of verse markedly inferior, in point of poetry, diction, and psychology, to most of the verse in 1 HENRY IV, and—what is no less important—metrically different in a marked degree from other verse held to be written by him about the same time. The later point, as being the simpler, may be first dealt with.

In his SHAKESPEARE MANUAL, Fleay, who first worked out complete tables of the metrical marks of the plays,

¹ Introduction to *Henry V, Parallel Texts*, N.S.S., 1877, p. viii.

² This was admitted by Knight, who regarded the mutilated Quarto of 1600 as a "first sketch." The passage in the chorus to the fifth Act, he justly observes, "does not prove that there was not an earlier performance without the choruses." "Without the choruses there is nothing to show that it might not have been performed earlier." (Introd. to *Henry V*, rep. in *Studies of Shakespeare*, 1849, pp. 180, 182.)

indicated HENRY V as standing metrically in its chronological order, between HENRY IV and JULIUS CÆSAR, thus :

1 <i>Henry IV</i>	1,622	blank verse lines ;	60	double-endings
2 <i>Henry IV</i>	1,417	„ „ „	203	„ „
<i>Henry V</i>	1,678	„ „ „	291	„ „
<i>Julius Cæsar</i>	2,241	„ „ „	369	„ „

Thus HENRY V has 17·3 per cent. of double-endings, and JULIUS CÆSAR 16·4—a sufficient approximation to pass muster, though the latter ought by the theory to be the higher. But Fleay later re-counted the plays, and always made his number of double-endings higher. In his section of Part II of Dr. Ingleby's SHAKESPEARE, THE MAN AND THE BOOK (1881), he alters the percentages considerably, the figures being now :

1 <i>Henry IV</i>	92	in	1,561	blank lines
2 <i>Henry IV</i>	221	„	1,425	„ „
<i>Henry V</i>	336	„	1,918	„ „
<i>Julius Cæsar</i>	413	„	2,181	„ „

Such statistical variations are disconcerting, and have naturally given rise to the question whether the “re-count” is not an attempt to make better evidence for an ill-supported theory. But there is no departure from good faith in the matter. All counting of double-endings is somewhat insecure, inasmuch as there are a number of doubtful words, capable of being read either as monosyllables or as dissyllables ; a number more which may be read as either dissyllables or trisyllables ; and a number of lines of which the scansion may be varied, so as to make them either irregular or regular. In some of the plays, too, notably in HENRY IV and HENRY V, there is comic blank verse, designedly irregular. On the whole, it is best to reckon all possible double-endings, and to count most trisyllable-endings as doubles. But, do what we will, we cannot bring Fleay's figures into precise harmony with König's, which give the percentages :—1 HENRY IV, 5·1 per cent. ; 2 HENRY IV,

8 THE ORIGATION OF "HENRY V"

16·3; HENRY V, 21·8; JULIUS CÆSAR, 19·7; while Fleay's later figures give 5·8, 15·5, 17·5, and (almost) 19. The divergence, significantly enough, is greatest for HENRY V, which in König's reckoning is notably out of its supposed chronological order. Leaving aside, then, for the present, the remarkable leap from 1 HENRY IV to 2 HENRY IV, visible in both countings, we are bound to carry the analysis further.

HENRY V, as we have said, is a difficult play to count rightly, in respect of the comic verse put into the mouth of Pistol, and the frequent phrases in French; and whatever view we take of the authorship of the Chorus-prologues, there are obvious reasons for not including that non-dramatic verse with the dramatic. Taking the blank verse proper, excluding the choruses and those scenes in which Pistol figures, and ignoring the concluding part of Act v, I count 1,416 lines of blank verse, with 313 double-endings, an average of 22 per cent., or very nearly the figures of König.¹ Thus, on a strict test, the play is upon a general view out of the metric-æsthetic order if we date it before JULIUS CÆSAR.

But it is advisable to take certain scenes separately, in order to note distribution. If there be two speeches of any length in HENRY V which would be generally claimed for Shakespeare, they are Canterbury's on the honey-bees, and Henry's soliloquy on ceremony. Now, in Canterbury's speech of 38 lines there are only two double-endings (5·2 per cent.); and in Henry's speech of 55 lines there are only five (9 per cent.), three of them being quasi-accidental, in respect that the lines end with the word "ceremony." In the opening scene, on the other hand, there are 23 double-endings to 97 lines; and in scene ii there are 58 double-endings to 299 lines of blank verse, or 19·4 per cent. In Act ii, scene ii, the number of double-endings (counting as such the trebles)

¹ My count, I may say, was done without knowledge of König's.

is 54, to 185 of blank verse—over 29 per cent.; and in scene iv we have 43 to 146, or nearly 30 per cent.; while in scene i of Act III, consisting of Henry's rant before Harfleur, there are 8 double-endings to 32 lines, or 25 per cent. In scene iii, where he rants in a worse vein, we have 12 double-endings to 56 lines, or 21·4 per cent. How such differences, ranging from 5 to 29 per cent., are to be explained away without either absolute surrender of the verse-test¹ or recognition of divided work, I am unable to see.

III.—WORKMANSHIP AND MATTER

If, however, the reader should blench at the challenge to his credence when it is put thus statistically, let him proceed to examine alike the structural and the poetic workmanship of HENRY V more carefully than has been commonly done, and he will find that on this side too the conventional estimate of the play is ill borne out. It is most true that the first Act is built on the lines of the first scene of EDWARD III. In each the King has to be solemnly assured and religiously convinced of the rightness of his cause in invading France; and a primitive dramatic expedient it is. The manner in which Ely and Canterbury in HENRY V lead up to the persuasion scene by question and answer is notably un-Shakespearean:—

Ely. Doth his Majesty
Incline to it or no?

Cant. He *seems* indifferent.

Ely. How did the offer *seem* received, my lord?

Cant. With good acceptance of his Majesty.

Ely. What was the impediment that broke this off?

Cant. The French ambassador upon that instant
Crav'd audience; and the hour I think is come
To give him hearing: *is it four o'clock?*

Ely. *It is.*

Cant. Then go we in to hear his embassy.

¹ Fleay in effect did cancel it as regards double endings, finding that it upset the received chronologies. The right course is to work out the problems it raises.

There is no slighter work in the corresponding part of EDWARD III.¹ The late Dr. Furnivall, who contributed so much to the mass of confident criticism supplied by very industrious scholars in the last generation, proclaimed after Professor Dowden that "Henry the Fifth is, as we all acknowledge, the hero of Shakespeare's manhood"; and with a parade of α , β , γ , δ , ϵ , ξ , he sets forth the hero's charms. But even Dr. Furnivall concedes that "part of" the second rant before Harfleur is "dangerously near bombast," continuing: "Was it the air of France that made him brag so? At any rate *Shakespeare had had enough of it; there is no more in the play, and it almost looks as if there had been an interval* between the composition of this *first portion* and the later part of the play."

Both of the Harfleur rants, be it observed, occur in the third Act; and in both scenes the proportion of double-endings is high—25 and 21.4 per cent. Dr. Furnivall, who associates the bombast and brag with the "threatful appeal to the governor of Harfleur," seems to confuse the two speeches. The worst of the bombast and boasting is in the first: the second is notable rather for its calculated savagery. It is delivered, as Courtenay regretfully observes, "in terms approaching to brutality."² He might even have gone further. We are asked to believe that Shakespeare found the hero of his manhood in a leader who announces that if a town does not surrender, his soldiers—the "noblest English" of the first harangue—will slaughter the "fair-fresh virgins and flowering infants," and adds:—

What is 't to me, when you yourselves are cause,
If your pure maidens fall into the hand
Of hot and forcing violation?

¹ It may be well to note at once a similar procedure in Marlowe's *Jew*, 1, 1:
Bas. The ships are safe, thou say'st, and richly fraught?
Merch. They are.

² *Comm. on the Histor. Plays*, 1840, i, 184.

Over his soldiers he has no more command than over Leviathan; therefore the men of Harfleur are to look to see

The blind and bloody soldier with foul hand
Defile the locks of your still-shrieking daughters;
Your fathers taken by the silver beards,
And their most reverend heads dash'd to the walls,
Your naked infants spitted upon pikes,
Whiles the mad mothers with their howls confused
Do break the clouds, as did the wives of Jewry
At Herod's bloody-hunting slaughtermen.

If such stuff were in any way certificated to us as Shakespeare's by its style, we should even yield and hang our heads as needs must, though it appears to be an absolute libel on Henry, whom the chroniclers represent as notably humane in this campaign up to Agincourt. Finding it in no wise so certificated, but on the contrary marked as stylistically impossible for him at the alleged date of penning, we pronounce it none of his. The Shakespeare of 1599, we maintain, was incapable of the turgid lines:

Then lend the eye a terrible aspect;
Let it pry through the portage of the head
Like the brass cannon; let the brow o'erwhelm it
As fearfully as doth a gallèd rock
O'erhang and jutty his confounded base,
Swill'd with the wild and wasteful ocean.
Now set the teeth and stretch the nostril wide. . . .

—unless he meant to make the hero-king an understudy for Pistol. Dr. Furnivall's query as to the climatic effect of France on the hero's rhetoric proceeds upon the text (III, vi, 163). One is fain to think, however, that Shakespeare, in patching the play, was capable of observing that the braggadocio produced on home soil (I, ii, 106-114, 278-288) was sufficient to vindicate the stimulant quality of the air of England. After all his panegyric, Dr. Furnivall confesses that "we can't help noting the weakness of this play as drama: a siege and

a battle, with one bit of light love-making, cannot form a drama, whatever amount of rhetorical patriotic speeches and comic relief are introduced. Henry the Fifth is all the play: no one else is really shown except Fluellen. *The characterization is therefore far inferior to that of 1 Henry IV.*"

It is even so; and how, upon such a confession, can it be maintained either that Shakespeare made Henry the hero of his manhood or that he originated such a play in 1599, after 1 HENRY IV and the MERCHANT? Upon the moral problem—the bracketing of modesty and clemency in the hero with blatancy and brutality—follows the technical. In 1 HENRY IV, Act I, scene iii, in 301 lines of blank verse, we have only 13 double-endings—three of them made by the ending "Glendower," an accident of name. The verse is vigorous, nervous, full of colour and personality, and the characterization vivid to a high degree. Hotspur is utterly alive. And we are asked to believe that at least a year, perhaps several years, after producing work like this, Shakespeare presented to his audience the Henry of the rants before Harfleur, in turgid end-stopped verse of which the double-endings rise to 25 per cent.; while in the same play he put verse recognisably his, with only from 5 to 9 per cent. of double-endings. On what æsthetic theory is this explicable? In the HENRY IV plays, Shakespeare wrote like this:

These things, indeed, you have articulate,
Proclaim'd at market crosses, read in churches,
To face the garment of rebellion
With some fine colour that may please the eye
Of fickle changelings and poor discontents,
Which gape and rub the elbow at the news
Of hurly-burly innovation:
And never yet did insurrection want
Such water-colours to impaint his cause;
Nor moody beggars, starving for a time
Of pell-mell havoc and confusion;

and thus :

Even such a man, so faint, so spiritless,
So dull, so dead in look, so woe-begone,
Drew Priam's curtain at the dead of night,
And would have told him half his Troy was burn'd.

In HENRY V he could write like this :

Upon the king ! Let us our lives, our souls,
Our debts, our careful wives,
Our children, and our sins, lay on the king !
We must bear all ! O hard condition !
Twin-born with greatness, subject to the breath
Of every fool, whose sense no more can feel
But his own wringing. What infinite heart's ease,
Must kings neglect, that private men enjoy
O ! be sick, great greatness,
And bid thy ceremony give thee cure.
Think'st thou the fiery fever will go out
With titles blown from adulation ?
Will it give place to flexure and low-bending ?
Canst thou when thou command'st the beggar's knee
Command the health of it ?

And we are asked to believe that in the same play (II, iv)
he wrote at the same period :—

Thus come the English with full power upon us,
And more than carefully it us concerns
To answer royally in our defences.
Therefore the Dukes of Berri and Britaine,
Of Brabant and of Orleans, shall make forth ;
And you, prince Dauphin, with all swift despatch,
To line and new repair our towns of war
With men of courage and with means defendant ;
For England his approaches makes *as fierce*
As waters to the sucking of a gulf.
It fits us then to be as provident
As fear may teach us, out of late examples,
Left by the fatal and neglected English
Upon our fields.

—with 6 double-endings in 14 lines, or nearly 43 per cent.

If we will critically face the facts, we are bound to
avow that the date 1599 cannot hold for the origination
of this play. It belongs in respect of much of its verse

to the plane and the period of the HENRY VI trilogy, not to the plane and period of 1 and 2 HENRY IV as they now stand. The last extract, on the other hand, if it is to be dated 1599, cannot be of Shakespeare's penning. That Shakespeare at points worked over the play is certain: the scenes between the King and the soldiers, and perhaps some of the Fluellen scenes, are his as they stand, though probably recasts, and represent his efforts to put the note of life into an old rhetorical play of drum and trumpet. It was he, doubtless, that put the account of Falstaff's death into the mouth of Mrs. Quickly. And, seeing as we think we do his hand in the speech about the honey-bees, it would be idle to deny that he probably wrought over other scenes in which another declamation than his unrolls the rhetorical movement of this "chronicle history." But these scenes simply cannot be of his creation at that date, with their multitude of double-endings and their frequent turgid rhetoric. It was only the spell of a fixed convention that could have led Fleay, following the "undisputed" of Malone, to pass such a play as "undoubted," and to account by a theory of sudden changes of technical practice for the shock which its metrical characteristics gave to his own primary doctrine of metrical development.

IV.—THE LINE OF GROWTH

To frame a documented history for the play is indeed not easy; but in the light of the theatre history of the time we can sketch it with a certain degree of confidence. It is clear, to begin with, that a play on Henry V held the popular boards when Shakespeare came to London. This was the FAMOUS VICTORIES OF HENRY THE FIFTH, possibly by Tarlton, who played in it two parts, but more

probably, on the theory of Mr. Dugdale Sykes,¹ by the actor Samuel Rowley. It is to be dated before 1588, the year of Tarlton's death;² and it is to it, possibly, that Nashe alludes in *PIERCE PENILESSE*³ (1592): "What a glorious thing it is to have Henry the Fifth represented on the stage, leading the French King prisoner, and forcing both him and the Dolphin to swear fealty." Such is the action in the old play.⁴ But it is unlikely that so popular a theme as the career of Henry V was left to be monopolised on the boards by Tarlton's or Rowley's crude and farcical performance so late even as 1592; and much more unlikely that that could hold the boards until 1599. It is highly probable, indeed, that the elements of 2 *HENRY IV* given in the old play were also separately dramatized before Shakespeare touched them; but I confine the argument here to the stronger case of *HENRY V*.

What happened in the matter of other chronicle histories presumably happened in this. The surviving text of *THE TRUE TRAGEDY OF RICHARD III* (printed in 1594) indicates that the initiation of such plays lay with enterprising actors. They could not write presentable verse, and hardly tried to, for much of what is printed as verse in the early *RICHARD THE THIRD* is but poor prose.⁵ It was such matter as this that was raised by the framers of the *CONTENTION BETWIXT THE TWO FAMOUS HOUSES OF YORK AND LANCASTER* and the *TRUE TRAGEDY OF RICHARD DUKE OF YORK* to a higher literary level, by the use of blank verse; and even as the

¹ See his Shakespeare Association paper, *The Authorship of 'The Taming of a Shrew,' etc.* Chatto and Windus, 1920.

² Fleay, *Blog. Chron.*, ii, 258.

³ Works, ed. McKerrow, i, 213.

⁴ Rep. in Sh. Lib., Pt. II, vol. i, 376.

⁵ On the other hand, a quantity of what is printed as prose is really more or less regular verse. I am inclined to see in some of this, and of the regular verse speeches that are printed as such, early pieces of "academic" hack-work done for the players by Kyd and Peele. They appear to be additions made to a quite primitive basis of actors' work. See in particular Richard's speech beginning "The goal is won" (Field's ed., p. 46).

early KING JOHAN of Bishop Bale gave the lead' to THE TROUBLESOME RAIGNE OF KING JOHN, so the popular plays of the 'eighties elicited the whole series of the York and Lancaster dramas in blank verse. As the tetralogy of HENRY VI and RICHARD III represents the third stage in a theatrical process, in which Shakespeare had only a small revising share, and as KING JOHN, which he re-wrote, had admittedly a similar history, it is hardly to be doubted that HENRY V was taken up in due course either by the "academic" group or by such practitioners as Heywood or Munday and Chettle, who were theatrically quite as efficient, and whose work will on the whole compare pretty well with that of the others, barring, of course, Marlowe, and Greene's best. Both sets would be attracted by such a theme. When they had exploited the names and careers not only of the first and (it may be) third Edwards and Richard I, but of the second Edward, and of such dubiously popular kings as John and Henry VI, they could not conceivably neglect such a hero-king as Henry V.² The presumption is that he was taken up early in the series.

Now we actually have an entry of a "ne" play, "Harey the V," in Henslowe's Diary in November, 1595;³ and it continues to be played through that and the next year down to July. It has hitherto been assumed, quite unwarrantably, that this was a mere revival of Tarlton's (or Rowley's) play with fresh matter. It is true that the "ne" of Henslowe's Diary is not evidence for a wholly new production; the play of 1595 was very probably a revision of an earlier; but we are bound, as aforesaid, to recognise the probability that such a theme would not be left for a dozen years without

¹ Not, of course, in structure: the second play draws nothing from the first.

² That there was a *Richard II* before Shakespeare's is also probable, despite Malone's denial.

³ Collier's statement that an entry of 14th May, 1592, is "clearly 'Harey the Vth'" is, as Furnivall pointed out, false. It reads 'Harey the VI.'

“academic” treatment. Tarlton’s or Rowley’s old play had been entered for publication in 1594, but was apparently withheld, and not published till 1598; and while the delay was perhaps partly due to the trouble over the use made of the name of Sir John Oldcastle, it is quite likely that the plan to publish was synchronous with an arrangement for exploiting the theme afresh. That HENRY V as it stands was written with an eye to EDWARD III (probably first produced about 1590, and recast about 1592, though not published till 1596) is affirmed by all critics on the assumption that the latter is the older play: the references, no less than the structure, give the clue. The only alternative view possible is that a non-Shakespearean HENRY V existed first. Now, as Greene in his SPANISH MASQUERADO (1589) refers patriotically to the invasions of France by Edward III and Henry V,¹ it might fairly be surmised that he tried his hand on the latter hero as well as the former. For the purpose of the present argument, I will assume that Greene’s part authorship of EDWARD III, argued for by me elsewhere,² with evidence which can be considerably added to, is reasonably proved; though it may be that even in the Countess scenes, which form the bulk of his contribution, he worked over a basis laid by Marlowe, who was probably the main author. For those who reject that attribution, the present argument will of course be invalid; but if it be granted, the case in regard to HENRY V will be decisively clarified. If it was another than the author or authors of EDWARD III who planned the present HENRY V, the act of duplication was one which outwent in plagiarism anything else that survives from that age.

It is not to be taken for granted, however, that EDWARD III is the earlier play of the two: there is even

¹ Works, v, 284.

² In “Did Shakespeare write *Titus Andronicus*?” 1905.

a reason for surmising the contrary. In HENRY V (i, ii, 105 *seq.*) there is an allusion to

Your great-uncle, Edward the Black Prince,
Who on the French ground play'd a tragedy,
Making defeat on the full power of France,
Whiles his most mighty father on a hill¹
Stood smiling to behold his lion's whelp . . .

This suggests an allusion to a previous play; but in EDWARD III the King does *not* witness his son's exploits.² It is possible, then, that in HENRY V we have as groundwork a play older than EDWARD III. All that we can contend for is that Marlowe, and probably Greene, had a hand in both. But I do not maintain that they were the sole authors even of the first HENRY V; and the Henslowe entry of 1595 points to a revision some years after their deaths. Can the other hand or hands be traced? Looking first for broad characters of style and matter, we find a distinct parallelism between the most turgid parts of the first rant before Harfleur and parts of two speeches in the CONTENTION. Compare Suffolk's lines:—

Could curses kill as do the mandrake's groans,
I would invent as many bitter terms,
Delivered strongly through my fixed teeth,
With twice so many signs of deadly hate,
As lean-faced Envy in her loathsome cave.
My tongue should stumble in mine earnest words,
Mine eyes should sparkle like the beaten flint
My hair be fixed on end as one distraught,
And every joint should seem to curse and ban . . .

with the lines before cited from HENRY V about "lending the eye a terrible aspect," setting the teeth, and stretching the nostril wide: which last item, as it happens, we find in the expanded (or restored) speech of Warwick,

¹ In Act II, iv, 51, we have the turgid repetition:

Whiles that his mountain sire, on mountain standing,
Up in the air, crown'd with the golden sun,
Saw his heroical seed . . .

Both passages echo the chronicles, and both describe a situation unworkable for the stage. And both are non-Shakespearean.

² See III, v; IV, v, 113; v, 127.

in 2 HENRY VI, describing the murdered Duke Humphrey—"his nostrils stretched with struggling." In the rant of Suffolk and the rant of Henry we have clearly the same *psychology* at work. The terror-striking person is to "imitate the action of the tiger," with eyes, teeth, and nostrils, as far as may be. The Suffolk speech in 2 HENRY VI is hardly altered from the form it has in the CONTENTION: a misprint is corrected, a word or two slightly changed; the line

As curst, as harsh, and horrible to hear,

is inserted after that ending with "terms"; and another, equally commonplace, later in the speech. All this suggests merely a more correct transcription of the original. The work, I take it, is clearly not Greene's: it has not his movement, either at his best or at his worst; and if we sought to place it as between his usual coadjutors we should be led to pronounce it either bad Marlowe or superior Peele—superior, that is, in point of declamatory energy; for there is no other order of merit involved. But it must be confessed that both the *psychology* and the diction appear to be exemplified in Marlowe, as here:—

For he shall wear the crown of Persia
Whose head hath deepest scars, whose breast most wounds,
Which being wroth sends lightning from his eyes,
And in the furrows of his frowning brows
Harbours revenge, war, death, and cruelty.

2 Tamb., i, iii.

And in the early work of Marlowe the idea often recurs.¹ If, then, the HENRY V matter under notice be Marlowe's, it belongs definitely to his first period and manner, and antedates EDWARD II, where the declamation is in a markedly more modern vein. It may even antedate FAUSTUS and the JEW, where, despite the persistent idealism, always yielding abstractions of self-will rather than observed types, the psychological plane is

¹ E.g., 1 Tamb., iv, i, 12-16; iii, ii, 69-86.

so much nearer that of realism. On this view, Marlowe is to be conceived as getting down from his *TAMBURLAINE* stilts, not all at once, but gradually, by way of perhaps two more "heroic" plays [see the next essay] devoted to personages who, like *Tamburlaine* "never fought but had the victory."¹

But a scrutiny of Marlowe's plays yields reason to believe that, apart from the additions admittedly made by others, he added scenes to them some time after producing them; and this he is as likely to have done with a *HENRY V* play as with any other. On the other hand, we must recognise the possibility that, at least about 1595, other dramatists such as Munday and Chettle, and Heywood, might try their hands at a play on the hero-king; and, further, that Drayton, who in Fleay's opinion was a reviser of *HENRY VI*, would be inclined to deal with *Henry V* in drama as well as in ballad. Even Dekker, who was writing as early as 1594, might intervene. But of these writers, so far, I have found no trace in the verse portions of our play, which clearly include the oldest.

V.—PROBABLE COLLABORATORS

Let us then develop what seems the likeliest hypothesis. Marlowe, Peele, and in perhaps a less degree Greene, were all likely enough draftsmen for a play on the hero-king; and as they seem clearly to have collaborated in the *HENRY VI* plays, they very well might in this. We thus reach the alternative surmises

¹ My camp is like to Julius Cæsar's host
That never fought but had the victory.

1 Tamb., III, iii.

That, fighting, know not what retreat doth mean
Nor e'er return but with the victory.

2 Tamb., III, v.

Compare :—

He [*Henry V*] ne'er lift up his hand but conquerèd.

1 Henry VI, I, i, 16.

that Marlowe, who begins 1 HENRY VI with a panegyric of Henry V, originally planned the play with Peele and Greene as collaborators, lifting into it, recast, the matter of the FAMOUS VICTORIES that is retained in the existing drama; and that the play was afterwards revived and revised from time to time, the revision of 1595 being possibly Peele's. That the production of 1595 was a revision I take to be certain: to suppose that so popular a theme was left so late as 1595 untouched either by Heywood or Munday or by the group who had exploited all the other likely elements in the chronicle histories is to flout all probability.

By tentatively assigning to Peele, then, part authorship and the revision of 1595, we get, *pro tanto*, a satisfactory order for all the data; and we account broadly for those characteristics of the existing play which refuse to compose with the assumption that Shakespeare originated it in 1599. The high proportion of double-endings and the fustian are reasonably assigned to the poets who multiplied their double-endings years before Shakespeare did, even if we ascribe to him a general revision of their work. Further, we can hypothetically account for the unfulfilled promise of the epilogue to 2 HENRY IV by assuming (1) that Shakespeare had really intended to carry Falstaff to France, *in respect that* (2) *this was done, with Oldcastle, in the earlier play*; but that (3) he finally decided that such a course would clash with the plan of presenting a regenerate Henry, and with the crushing rejection of Falstaff in 2 HENRY IV, v, iv, which here in effect follows the FAMOUS VICTORIES.¹ It is thus probable that the retention of the epilogue was one of the many oversights of the theatre. It was so, in fact, on the face of the case. No one who relied on its promise

¹ A general dismissal of his lawless associates by Henry occurs in the old play; and as Oldcastle has evidently been cut out for the publication, we may infer him to have been among the "knights" originally dismissed by the repentant Prince.

was ever satisfied. And as the epilogue tells of a general resentment of the denigration of Sir John Oldcastle, the original Falstaff, it might well be that that circumstance also decided the actor-manager against a further employment of the character.

But while the problem is thus sufficiently solved, as regards the simple presence of non-Shakespearean elements in HENRY V, we are not entitled to say with confidence that there were no hands but Marlowe's and Greene's and Peele's in the play before Shakespeare's company acquired it. That Peele wrote the rant about imitating the action of the tiger seems possible, inasmuch as his is one of the hands pretty clearly traceable in 2 HENRY VI, and this stuff has neither the quick rhythm of Greene nor the force of Marlowe, though it might be Marlowe on a bad day. And though I cannot parallel the passage from Peele's signed works, other passages in the play and in the prologues come close to some of his. For instance, that already quoted from:—

Like to the senators of the antique Rome,
With the plebeians swarming at their heels,
Go forth and fetch the conquering Cæsar in.

Henry V, Prol. to Act v.

Not Cæsar, leading through the streets of Rome
The captive kings of conquered nations,
Was in his princely triumphs honour'd more
Than English Edward in this martial sight.

Edward I, sc. i.

In putting this parallel I anticipate the objection that the lines first cited can refer only to Essex's expedition of 1599, some three years after Peele's death. But while I recognise the possibility—once over-strongly put by me as a probability—that the prologues, or some of them, may have been penned in 1599 by another hand, I would here submit (1) the æsthetic presumption that this prologue, so different in style from most of the play and from Shakespeare's work in general, is *not*

penned by Shakespeare, and (2) the possibility that in an earlier version the reference may have been to another episode. In 1591, for instance, Essex was sent to France with 4,000 men to aid Henri IV; and Peele had actually written an "Eclogue Gratulatory" to Essex in 1589, "his welcome into England from Portugal."¹ The omission or alteration of the hackneyed line

Bringing rebellion broached upon his sword,
which echoes a phrase repeatedly used by the Marlowe school,² and the substitution of "France returning" for "Ireland coming," would leave the prologue applicable to the earlier event. I press the possibility because this prologue at points really suggests the style of Peele more than any other of the period, though it has apparently been recast. And this is not the only suggestion of his hand in the prologues. Turning to the first we find:

Then should the warlike Harry, *like himself*,
Assume the port of Mars.

Compare the picture of the conquering Longshanks, who
Like bloody-crested Mars o'erlooks his host.

Edward I, sc. i.

That Shakespeare wrote the "like himself" in 1599 I am unable to believe³: that Peele did so years before is to me thinkable, though I suspect Marlowe. It is not certain that EDWARD I preceded the pre-Shakespearean HENRY V, and these may be echoes by Peele of earlier work by Marlowe.

¹ Warton wrote: "I could produce evidence to prove that he [Essex] scarce ever went out of England, or left London, on the most frivolous enterprise, without a pastoral in his praise, or a panegyrick in metre, which were sold or sung in the streets." Var. ed. *in loc.*

² E.g.:—And brought'st home triumph on thy lance's point.

Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, sc. vii.

Joab brings conquest pierced upon his spear.

David and Bethsabe, iv, ii.

That in conceit bear empires on our spears.

Tamb., i, ii.

Marlowe is the originator, as usual.

³ The "like Brutus, like himself," in *Julius Cæsar* (v, iv, 24) suggests the same pre-Shakespearean hand.

Those who recognise the hands of Marlowe, Kyd, Greene and Peele in *TITUS ANDRONICUS* will have no difficulty, again, in connecting with one of them the un-Shakespearean speech (II, iv) of the French king, above cited. The minor correspondence of such lines as :

Therefore, my lord, *it highly us concerns*
By day and night to *attend him carefully*
(*Titus*, IV, iii, 27-28),

and

And more than *carefully it us concerns*
To answer royally in our defences
(*Henry V*, II, iv, 2-3)

is the kind of clue that perhaps traces a man and a date better than might a more important duplication of thought or phrase. Certainly it is not a kind of verbal repetition possible to Shakespeare.

To whom then does the clue point? The verbal clues in the *TITUS* scene are heterogeneous. There are single word-clues to Greene (as, "big-bon'd"); "attend him carefully," again, is a tic-phrase of Peele's¹; and he is probably here a reviser; but there are clues both of phrase and idea to Kyd; and the whole business of the crazed Titus appealing to Pluto for justice is in the manner and spirit of similar business in the *SPANISH TRAGEDY*. A complete decision would involve the inquiry whether or not it was Kyd who inserted the (apparently interpolated) speech of Mycetes at the beginning of sc. ii of Act II of *1 TAMB.*, a question which extends to the Mycetes speeches in Act I, sc. i.² If one

¹ Thy trusty band of men
That carefully attend us in our camp.
Battle of Alcasar, I, i, 14
That carefully attend her person still.
Device of the Pageant (1585), p. 537 a.

² I have not seen either question raised anywhere. Both, however, obtruded themselves on me long ago. Marlowe, I take it, began his play with Cosroe's line, "Unhappy Persia"; and began II, ii, with Meander's speech. In both places the Mycetes speeches appear to me to be attempts by other hands to break up the heavy rhetorical openings; and the two "for-to's" of the first scene surely tell of an alien hand. At first I surmised Greene's: analysis suggested Kyd's. And I find some cause to surmise his presence even in *Edward II* (v, iii, 1-40).

could be sure that the "let us to this gear" in II, ii, comes from Kyd (who uses the phrase "this gear" thrice in one scene in the SPANISH TRAGEDY) one might be equally sure that the scene of the arrows in TITUS, IV, iii, is his. It has the air of a late addition, presumably made in 1592 or 1593. But, on the other hand, the general vigour of the writing suggests the possibility that Marlowe may here have dashed off a scene on the lines of the Hieronymo business in the SPANISH TRAGEDY; and though Kyd certainly had a hand in EDWARD III it is not easy to discover him in HENRY V. There is indeed a notable identity of matter between the Viceroy's speech in the SPANISH TRAGEDY, I, iii, 77 :—

Thou false, unkind, unthankful, trait'rous beast !
Wherein had Balthazar offended thee
That thou shouldst thus betray him to our foes?
Was 't Spanish gold that blearèd so thine eyes
That thou couldst see no part of our deserts.

and part of Henry's impeachment of Cambridge and Scroop (II, ii) :—

Thou cruel,
Ingrateful, savage and inhuman creature
May it be possible that foreign hire
Could out of thee extract one spark of evil

where some rather crude early material has apparently been elaborated by Shakespeare. But again we are forced to ask whether we are not on the traces of Marlowe, who in EDWARD II (v, i) makes the defeated King cry :

And needs I must resign my wishèd crown.
Inhuman creatures! nursed with tiger's milk !
Why gape you for your sovereign's overthrow !
My diadem, I mean, and guiltless life?

The echo here may be Marlowe's own, or an imitator's. All that can be said to be certain is that this old-style mosaic of old declamation is not the work of Shakespeare, composing a new play in 1599, though he

is very likely to have revised the scene under notice. But at other points there is no sign of revision, and the balance of presumption is towards ascribing the first draft of the turgid speech in II, iv, to Marlowe. And when we note in the same speech the line :

As waters to the sucking of a gulf,

and recall from Marlowe's translation of Ovid's *ELEGIES* (II, xi, 14) the phrase "sucking shore," the suspicion is somewhat heightened. It is true that Green, Peele, and Kyd all imitate Marlowe alike in vocabulary, phrase and idea; and even the high proportion of six double-endings to fourteen lines, found in the speech before us, does not exclude Kyd, who several times reaches that rate in *SOLIMAN AND PERSEDA*, whereas no such proportion is reached by either Peele or Greene in signed or assigned work. If then the hand be not Marlowe's it may very well be Kyd's, and a late revision by the latter might be the solution.

The word "slaughterman," again, occurring in *TITUS* (IV, iv, 58), in *I HENRY VI* (III, iii, 75), in *HENRY V* (III, iii, 41), and never again in the Shakespeare plays till *CYMBELINE* (v, iii, 49), seems to point primarily to Marlowe. It is first found, in this play cycle, in *RICHARD DUKE OF YORK*, sc. iii, 203 (near end of Act I); and though the speech in which it occurs in Kyd's *ARDEN OF FEVERSHAM* (II, ii, 207) seems to me to be one of Greene's additions to that play, in all the other passages cited it occurs in energetic declamation very much in Marlowe's manner. The ferocity of detail in Henry's second Harfleur speech, too, is more in the way of Marlowe than of Greene, save where Greene is aping *TAMBURLAINE* in *SELIMUS*. To begin with, it is but a re-writing of the speech of Talbot threatening Bourdeaux in *I HENRY VI* (IV, ii), a plainly Marlovian performance. Not only is there a sad mass of similar stuff in

TAMBURLAINE, but there is a partial duplication in DIDO. Compare HENRY V, III, iii, 35 *seq.* :

*Defile the locks of your still-shrieking daughters;
Your fathers taken by their silver beards,
And their most reverend heads dashed to the walls,
Your naked infants spitted upon pikes,*

with DIDO, II, i, 192-198 :—

*Young infants swimming in their parents' blood . . .
Virgins half dead, dragged by their golden hair
And with main force flung on a ring of pikes,¹
Old men, with swords thrust through their aged sides,
Kneeling for mercy to a Greekish lad,
Who with steel poleaxes dashed out their brains.*

Once more, if Shakespeare wrote the first of these flights in 1599, he was very weakly and gratuitously copying Marlowe in a kind of unhistorical declamation which imputed gross savagery to the "hero-king"; whereas for Marlowe it was but a heedless repetition of the manner and matter of TAMBURLAINE. Only, as he puts it, it was but a threat, which had the effect of making Harfleur surrender.

The picture of universal massacre in DIDO is his own. Virgil gave him only the dragging of Cassandra by her hair and the slaying of Priam and Hecuba by Pyrrhus, as against the normal fighting : he has imagined the rest in terms of the sack of Antwerp or some other modern massacre in the TAMBURLAINE taste²; and he has enlarged and embellished the vision in HENRY V.

It does not follow, of course, that the speech remains as he wrote it. He might be capable of the alternate presentation of his countrymen as heroes and as possible slayers of infants; but one does not easily conceive of the creator of TAMBURLAINE making Henry blame the

¹ See also 1 *Tamb.*, v, ii :—

Enforce thee run upon the baneful pikes.

² Massinger follows him in specifying the slaying of babies as a usual detail in the sack of a city.

"licentious wickedness" of his own men as something he deprecates but cannot control. The lines :

What is it then to me if *impious war*,
Array'd in flames, like to the prince of fiends,
Do, with his *smirch'd complexion*, all fell feats
Enlink'd to waste and desolation?

seem at first to tell of another hand and another psychology than his. Marlowe's mental processes are usually "elemental," simple and direct. To make the war-maker speak of "impious" war; to enlarge on the "smirch'd complexion" of the fiend; and to speak of fell feats "*enlink'd to waste and desolation*," are not exactly normal touches of his. But he has "impious war" in his version of Lucan (l. 690); and when we note in the FIRST PART OF TAMBURLAINE (II, iii, 19-20) the lines :

And bullets, like Jove's dreadful thunderbolts,
Enroll'd in flames and fiery smouldering mists,¹

the manner of the inflation hints that the "enlink'd" line in HENRY V may really be his.

When, again, we turn to Henry's address to his troops at Agincourt, we have once more a pre-Shakespearean manner, cadence, and diction; but it is not clearly Marlowe's, though there is a touch of its spirit and method in the speech of Usumcasane :

When kings shall crouch unto our conquering swords,
And hosts of soldiers stand amazed at us;
When with their fearful tongues they shall confess
These are the men that all the world admires.

1 *Tamb.*, VI, ii, near end.

Eloquent without intensity, sentimentally lyrical, and notably reiterative, it is in some respects more markedly in the style of Peele than almost anything else in the play. Such a line as :

We few, we happy few, we band of brothers,

¹ Cf. *Aeneid*, ii, 697.

recalls a dozen of his in *ANGLORUM FERIE* and elsewhere. The psychology here, too, is of that non-Shakespearean sort paraded in *JULIUS CÆSAR*, in the scene (III, i) in which the assassins predict their future renown. As Cassius cries :—

How many ages hence
Shall this our lofty scene be acted over
In states unborn and accents yet unknown,

so, and with the same iteration, Henry predicts that

Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
From this day to the ending of the world,
But we in it shall be remembered.

The vein is retrospectively lyrical and undramatic, and but for the fact that the percentage of double endings is so high (12 in the 51 lines of the speech = 23 per cent., a rate maintained throughout the scene), and that there are rather plain traces of Chapman in the King's second harangue, there would be little difficulty about assigning the first to Peele as it stands. But that percentage seems decisive as against his authorship, being too high for any of the pre-Shakespeareans save Marlowe; and such a line as (l. 100) :

Killing in relapse of mortality
is too Chapmanesque to be put aside.

To call in question at once the origination of *HENRY V* and of *JULIUS CÆSAR* will doubtless seem to many students an extravagant procedure; and it must just be pleaded that as in regard to the former, so in regard to the latter, the grounds for surmising a pre-Shakespearean play have never been critically considered. It is by induction, and not by gratuitous hypothesis, that the surmise is reached in both cases. But it is in regard to *HENRY V*, with its close structural kinship to *EDWARD III* and its marked diversities of style, that the case for a pre-Shakespearean play is *prima facie* strongest; and the judicial reader will doubtless suspend his judgment until it has been fully presented.

That Marlowe should have been in the assumed original play is *à priori* highly probable. The opening lines of *I HENRY VI*, glorifying the dead hero, are generally admitted to be his : it would have been strange, then, if he had had no hand in the hero-play. While much of the old matter is gone, enough is left to show substantial identity of source with *EDWARD III*, and a pervading influence from Marlowe. The method of the prologues, broadly speaking, is his : they derive from the prologues to *THE JEW OF MALTA* and *DOCTOR FAUSTUS*; and in the first four both phrase and movement suggest him. Such lines as :

And chide the cripple tardy-gaited night,
Which like a foul and ugly witch doth limp
So tediously away ;

and

O for a muse of fire that would ascend
The brightest heaven of invention ;

and

Now all the youth of England are on fire,
And silken dalliance in the wardrobe lies,

are so full of his spirit that they must be set down to his inspiration, if not to his hand. It is to be observed that the percentage of double-endings in four of the prologues is far below the average of the play : in the first it is 6.6 ; in the second 10 (four to 38 lines ; two instances being made by the name Southampton) ; in the fourth 4 ; and in the fifth 14. Only in the third do we have the abnormally high rate of 42—14 in 33 lines. The natural presumption is that the third is late, and the others, or at least the first, second, and fourth, early. If we should assign the fifth to Peele as original collaborator, and the third to Heywood or Dekker as a later reviser, the first, second, and fourth might be reckoned primarily Marlowe's, though it may be that they also are the work of Heywood, his imitator.

VI.—THE PROLOGUES

One of the reasons for suspecting the hand of Heywood in the third is that in *EDWARD IV*, of which he may reasonably be held to have written the bulk, if not the whole,¹ the device of a chorus is employed at Act II of Part II to change the scene from France to England; and again in a chorus to Act V of *THE FAIR MAID OF THE WEST* we have this explanation for its use :

Our stage so lamely can express a sea,
That we are forced by chorus to discourse
What should have been in action

—the motive for the chorus in *HENRY V*; while in his early play *THE FOUR PRENTICES OF LONDON* (justifiably dated by Fleay about 1594) the “Presenter” performs the same function between the first and second Acts, first describing a sea voyage, and then describing or commenting a series of four Dumb Shews. The lines on the voyage again recall our Chorus :—

Imagine now ye see the air made thick
With stormy tempests that disturb the sea,
And the four winds at war among themselves ;
And the weak bark wherein the brothers sail
Split on strange rocks, and they enforced to swim
To save their desperate lives.

The difficulty is that the rhetoric in all the Heywood choruses cited, being juvenile work, is inferior in vigour to that of the prologue before us, though its vein and purport are very like much of his declamation, which often reaches sonority. But we are to remember that the style and substance of this prologue are very much akin to those of the prologue to *TROILUS AND CRESSIDA*, which is generally admitted to be non-Shakespearean, on grounds that are equally valid against the other. Its line :

Draw the huge bottoms through the furrow'd sea,

¹ His authorship was challenged by Fleay as unproved; but the matter, I think, has never been fully debated, and Dr. W. W. Grey declares unreservedly for Heywood. See the essay on the authorship of *Richard III* hereinafter.

suggests the "deep-drawing barks" of the other. For the TROILUS prologue one might make a guess at Dekker, who prologuises somewhat in that style to the second and fourth Acts of OLD FORTUNATUS, a play known to have been on the boards in 1596, and dated by Fleay in its first form as early as 1590. It was revived in 1599, the year of the new HENRY V and, as Fleay justifiably claims, of the first production of TROILUS, a theme upon which Dekker collaborated with Chettle. As Dekker is noted by Henslowe as writing a prologue, specially paid for, to the play of PONTIUS PILATE, it is conceivable that he may have made a specialty of that form. In 1598 he had collaborated with Chettle and Drayton in THE FAMOUS WARS OF HENRY I AND THE PRINCE OF WALES, and, it would seem, in a round dozen of other plays, mostly historical. For any piece of dramatic handicraft he was as likely to be employed as Heywood.

Dekker is suggested even by the first prologue in HENRY V, of which the lines :

Can this cockpit hold
The vasty walls of France; or may we cram
Within *this wooden O* the very casques
That did affright the air at Agincourt?

and

Let us, ciphers to this great accompt,
On *your imaginary forces* work.
Suppose within *the girdle of these walls*
Are now confined two mighty monarchies . . .
Piece out our imperfections with your thoughts,

are to the same purpose as his opening in the prologue to Act II of OLD FORTUNATUS :

The world to the circumference of Heaven
Is as a small point in geometry,
Whose greatness is so little that a less
Cannot be made : *into that narrow room*
Your quick imaginations we must charm,
To turn that world ; and, turned, again to part it
Into large kingdoms ;

while the line :

Suppose you see him brought to Babylon
seems to tell of echo, whether by him or of him, as his

There *think you see him* sit with folded arms
recalls

Think, when we talk of horses, that *you see them* . . .

If the first prologue were old, Dekker might well have studied it before writing others of his own. His command of rich rhetoric was almost abundant enough to justify Lamb's verdict that he had poetry enough for anything; and in OLD FORTUNATUS it sometimes recalls other parts of the Shakespeare plays. Compare, for instance, these lines in his fourth Act, scene ii :—

As I oft have seen
When angry Thamesis hath *curled her locks*,
A whirlwind come, and from her *frizzled brows*
Snatch up a handful of those sweaty pearls
That stood upon her forehead, which awhile
Being by the boist'rous wind *hung in the air*,
At length hath flung them down and raised a storm,

with the King's soliloquy in 2 HENRY IV, III, i :—

In cradle of the rude imperious surge,
And in the visitation of the winds,
Who take the ruffian billows by the top,
Curling their monstrous heads, and hanging them
With deafening clamours in the slippery shrouds.

All this, of course, proves nothing *prima facie* beyond Dekker's knowledge of Shakespeare's work. We can but indicate the possibility of Dekker's entrance into HENRY V, and put, as an alternative to the Chapman theory, the hypothesis that if Dekker wrote the otherwise assigned prologue to TROILUS, he might have done the similar rhetoric in the third prologue to the chronicle play, which to my thinking is visibly not Shakespeare's.

Heywood, though a less powerful and a less poetically gifted rhetorician than Dekker, might indeed be surmised to have been the operator in the TROILUS prologue, on

the score that he frequently uses the noun "mures" and the verb "immures" (cp. "strong immures"), but he is here suggested rather as a general reviser of the old play, and this partly on the ground that there are a number of apparent clues to him in the HENRY VI plays, where much of the revision-work is so poor as quite to exclude the conventional assumption that Shakespeare did all, or most, of it. Some can hardly be understood save as Marlowe's revision of his own work in RICHARD DUKE OF YORK. Some of it can be traced to Peele with considerable confidence; but the hand that multiplied the double-endings is presumably not his; and it could conceivably be Heywood's. The question of his possible share in HENRY V, however, cannot be properly handled without an investigation not only of the HENRY VI plays, but of the revision work in RICHARD III, which so noticeably connects with parts of his EDWARD IV. And for the establishment of our main thesis, the pre-Shakespearean origination of HENRY V, it is not necessary here to cover the whole ground. Suffice it to say that we shall find Heywood suggested by several verbal clues in HENRY V; and that various speeches of which the rhetoric is too "unraised" to be Shakespeare's, but which yet do not clearly tell of the hand of any of the pre-Shakespearean school, could very well be his.

For instance, among the once-used words of this play we have *sonance*,¹ which occurs in Heywood's RAPE OF LUCRECE (II, i), and nowhere else, as far as I can remember, in Elizabethan drama. It will not be disputed by anyone, I think, that the speech in HENRY V in which this word occurs could conceivably have been written by Heywood, and that it has no "Shakespearean" quality. Yet it is always to be remembered that Heywood, naturally enough, picked up much of his special vocabulary

¹ IV, ii, 35. *Sonnance* in Folio, presumably a misprint for *Sonnance*.

from Marlowe and Greene; his tic-word "abortive," for instance, is found in *TAMBURLAINE*; and it may be that the "sonance" in *HENRY V* is Marlowe's word, and that Heywood copied it thence. The speech of Grandpré, next following, has the aspect of Marlowe; and, we shall see, is assignable to him in respect of vocabulary; while the figure about the knavish crows is repeated in *EDWARD III*. Seeing then that the scene thus far is all of a piece as to matter and manner, Marlowe's it perhaps is. Indeed the phrase "shall suck away their souls" points almost definitely to

Her lips suck forth my soul! See where it flies!

in *FAUSTUS* (v, iii, end). In any case, the entire presentment of the French nobles as fatuously over-confident is a duplication of the procedure in *EDWARD III*; and while we can conceive Marlowe and his collaborators composing that play after this, it is a very humble estimate of Shakespeare that regards him as thus humbly copying *EDWARD III* in 1599.

VII.—THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE QUARTO

A long dispute¹ has taken place as to the relative priority of the Quarto (1600) and Folio forms of the play, some reckoning the former a "first sketch," of which the Folio text is an elaboration; others arguing that it is but a curtailed version of the fuller text. In the last generation Mr. P. A. Daniel, editing the texts for the New Shakspeare Society, ably contended that on an analysis the Quarto text is seen to proceed on that of the Folio inasmuch as it is at points intelligible only when we restore passages found in the latter, which have been omitted though requisite to its own exposition; and the result of his argument has been a general acceptance of

¹ Summarised by Mr. Hereward Price, *The Text of Henry V*, ch. ii.

his view that the Folio text as a whole is the older. But that conclusion does not really follow; and the double conclusion reached by Mr. H. T. Price (p. 8) that "The Quarto is subsequent to the Folio . . . and the Folio text of HENRY V is Shakespeare's work and his alone" is not yielded by either the evidence or the argument. Equally invalid, it is true, is the assumption that the Quarto is a "first sketch." Curtailed and short as it is, it represents an already composite work. But there is good ground for holding that while it really omits much matter that existed in the theatre copy before its publication, that copy was altered and added to after the Quarto compression had been made—in the first instance probably, as is contended by Mr. A. W. Pollard and Mr. Dover Wilson, for the purposes of a provincial tour by a reduced company.

The absence of scenes and speeches from such a curtailed version may be explained in two ways, though simple curtailment may account for most. The lack of the choruses, for instance, is probably to be so explained, though they would have been helpful for stage purposes. Scene i of Act III, too, may have been dropped on the view that the bare declamation of Henry leading his men to the breach contrasts too grotesquely with the matter which immediately follows¹: there is certainly no reason to think that the "breach" speech did not exist when the Quarto version was made, any more than to suppose that the harangue in scene iii was not then available in full as it stands. Both speeches are in the main old-fashioned in diction and versification; and the King's soliloquy in Act IV, which is so plainly Shakespearean, is likely to have been dropped as inessential to the action. But it does not follow that the lacking scene of Act I was also

¹ Here again the Quarto embodies a heedless revision, in which Bedford sends for Fluellen to come "to the mines" while the assault is actually going on. But in the old verse matter the attacking force is still outside the "breach" when the town surrenders.

in existence when the acting version was made, though that too could be dropped without seriously affecting the action. Its style is markedly later than that of the rants before Harfleur; and it is possibly of later composition than the second scene, which has only 16 per cent. of double-endings, while the first has nearly 24. In the prose matter, again, it may reasonably be suspected that the boy's speech at the end of iv, iv, concluding with the remark that "the French might have a good prey of us, if he knew of it, for there is none to guard it [the camp luggage] but boys," is an addition made to strengthen the later story of the French attack on the boys.

When, however, we have recognised that the Quarto, at whatsoever date arranged as an acting version, proceeds on an already composite text, it is a matter of secondary importance to establish that the Folio text indicates later additions. The heterogeneity of the text is to be demonstrated either from the Folio text or from the Quarto text corrected by that of the Folio. Messrs. Pollard and Wilson rightly argue that it stands for a play existent a good many years before 1599; and that, the essential part of our claim, can be made good on the Folio text as it stands. The shortcoming of the defence is that it not merely assigns uncritically to Shakespeare all the matter of later origin, but is blind to the presence, in a work assigned to 1599, of a quantity of matter that is both non-Shakespearean and pre-Shakespearean, matter plainly coming from the school of Marlowe, and some of it probably from Marlowe's hand.

VIII.—PHRASEOLOGICAL CLUES

Returning to the main question, we have to note the phraseological and other clues in the re-written play which seem to point to non-Shakespearean hands, early or late. Such clues are always to be weighed in the

light of the style test. In the opening scene, for instance, we have the tag "Gordian knot," which occurs only in this play and in CYMBELINE—a composition which in all likelihood is a recast of an old play. Now, "Gordian knot" is a favourite tag of Greene, who uses it at least thrice.¹ But Chapman also often uses the tag²; and the scene is not in the least like Greene, being visibly late in verse evolution. Neither, however, is the style Chapman's: if he drafted it, it has been re-written by Shakespeare, like the matter that was presumably originated by Chapman in TROILUS AND CRESSIDA. This, therefore, may be dated 1599, though it may very well be still later. It is distinctly cynical in conception, its effect being to represent the prelates as eager to egg the king on to a French war in order to prevent any progress with the alarming bill for the confiscation of ecclesiastical revenues. And the diction frequently suggests rather hasty re-writing than original composition; as in the lines:

The mute *wonder lurketh* in men's ears
To steal his sweet and *honey'd* sentences;
So that the art and practic part of life
Must be the mistress to this theoric;
Which is a wonder how his grace should glean it.

The confused thinking is very suggestive of Chapman.

In the second scene, where the diction and versification are much less suggestive of the maturing Shakespeare, we have four apparent traces of Greene or Marlowe:—

Forage in blood of French nobility.
Against the Scot, who will *make road*³ on us
With all advantages.

To defend
Our island from the *pilfering borderers*.
Girding with grievous siege castles and towns.

¹ *Orlando Furioso*: Dyce's *Greene and Peele*, p. 95a; *Id.*, p. 96b; Ditty in *Perimedes the Blacksmith* (vol. cited, p. 292b).

² See instances cited by Prof. Schoell in his ed. of *The Distracted Emperor* (Milford, 1920), p. 134. Prof. Schoell very adequately proves the play in question to be Chapman's—probably a version from the Italian.

³ This phrase recurs in *Coriolanus*, III, i, 5.

Compare :

And *forage* their country as they have done ours.

Edward III, iv, iii, 81.

The King of England *forageth* his land.

James IV, v, i.

For others that resist, kill, *forage*, spoil.

Id., v, iii, end.

We need no foes to *forage* that we have.

Id., v, iv.

Two thousand horse shall *forage* up and down.

1 Tamb., iii, i.

That we [the Scots] with England will not enter-parley . . .

But burn their neighbour towns, and so persist

With eager *roads* beyond their city York.

Edward III, i, ii, 22-25.

One that hath either no abiding place,

Or else, inhabiting some barren soil . . .

Dost altogether live by *pilfering*.

Id., iii, iii, 54-57.

And now the tyrant hath *begirt* with *siege*

The castle of Roxborough.

Id., i, i, 129.

And there *begirt* that haven-town *with siege*.

Id., iii, v, 107.

For to *begirt* it with his hands about.

Alphonsus King of Arragon: Dyce, p. 228a.

Melicertes *begirt* the castle *with* such a *siege*.

Menaphon, Arber's rep., p. 81.

Girt his fort.

Orlando Furioso: Dyce, p. 93b.

It should be noted that the words "gird" and "girt," in this sense, occur only in HENRY V and in the composite HENRY VI plays ("girt" with the sword" in 1 and 2 HENRY VI): elsewhere, "gird" for Shakespeare means gibe or fling, whether it be noun or verb; whereas Peele has "girt me with my sword."² *Pilfering*, again, occurs only this once in the Shakespeare concordance; and in LEAR, "pilferings" means trivial thefts, whereas the word in HENRY V has the force of "marauding," as

¹ So the Folio. The Globe ed. reads *gird*.

² In *Lucrece* (221), however, we have:

This siege that hath *engirt* his marriage
—an echo of the theatre tag.

in EDWARD III. Neither does *borderer* ever again occur in Shakespeare; whereas Greene, speaking of border invasions in the north, has "borderers" (JAMES IV); and "bordering towns" occurs in EDWARD III. But then we find that Marlowe, who is to be reckoned as collaborator with Greene in that play, and as ostensible originator, has "borderers" twice (EDWARD II, II, ii; HERO AND LEANDER, I. 3) and "bordering" thrice (2 TAMB., IV, v; DIDO, III, i; Tr. of LUCAN, I. 463), the phrase in the last case being "bordering towns."

And this brings us again to the question of the sequence in time of the various plays involved in our inquiry. In Marlowe's EDWARD II we have:

Unto the walls of York the Scots *make roads*,
and

The northern *borderers*, seeing their houses burnt.

Such clues are very slight, but not to be despised. So far as they go, they suggest that EDWARD II preceded EDWARD III. Further, they raise the question whether the phraseology echoed in HENRY V is primarily Greene's or Marlowe's. Greene's repeated "begirt with siege" is paralleled by

Who means to girt Natolia's walls with siege.
2 *Tamb.* iii, 5,

and

Girting this strumpet city with our siege.
Massacre at Paris, iii, 4;

which suggest that Marlowe set the fashion. When therefore we find the line:

And girt the city with a warlike siege
in SELIMUS (I. 2189), which seems to be substantially Greene's, we are still left with an imitation of Marlowe. Finally, Heywood's

More thieves and villains have begirt us round
in the FOUR PRENTICES (ed. Pearson, II, 188) tells of a general vogue of such phrasing. If then this clue and "bordering" and "borderers" all point no less to

Marlowe than to Greene, we are equally free to surmise either of them as originator of HENRY V. Either Marlowe penned the cited passages in EDWARD III or Greene echoes EDWARD II in EDWARD III as he had earlier echoed TAMBURLAINE in ALPHONSUS and in ORLANDO: then the remains of Marlowe-Greene diction in HENRY V may stand either for more echoes by Greene or for Marlowe's primary work. For a Marlowese HENRY V may even, as aforesaid, have antedated EDWARD III, the later hero-king offering the strongest attraction from the point of view of the theatre, as distinct from that of the dramatist.

It is impossible, thus far, to reach a warranted conclusion as to the precise shares of the collaborators. On the face of the case there is a clear balance towards Marlowe and Greene. One of the word clues to them is that from "gimmel'd bit" in HENRY V (IV, ii, 49) to "gymold mail" in EDWARD III. In the Folio it stands *Jymold*, which points to the spelling in the last-named play. The meaning is the same: a "gymold (= gimmel'd) bit" is a chain-bit, and "gymold mail" is chain mail. Nowhere else in Shakespeare is the word found. But was it Greene's; or had Marlowe used it in the original HENRY V before he or Greene used it in EDWARD III?

Another promising but puzzling clue is the reading of "ordnance" as a trisyllable in HENRY V (II, iv, 126). In the Folio it is spelt, according to the prevailing Elizabethan custom, as a trisyllable, and must *here* be so read, though the Globe and other editions since Malone read "ordnance." Here the Globe editors are inconsistent: for in KING JOHN, II, i, 218, where "ordinance" clearly means "ordnance," they preserve the trisyllable spelling for the sake of the metre; and Mr. Wright in his Clarendon Press edition has no note on the point. They ought to have had the same reading in both plays where the metre requires it. Elsewhere in

Shakespeare, even when spelt "ordnance," the word is a dissyllable when it has the meaning "ordnance" (HAMLET, v, ii, 281). This is the case in the Prologue to Act III of HENRY V, where, with the spelling "ordenance," we have the scansion "ordnance." It might seem reasonable to infer that the scansions in the two HENRY V passages, like the styles, are from different hands. But here we are faced by the fact that Shakespeare elsewhere uses both scansions; and again there is ambiguity of evidence as to the source. In 2 TAMBURLAINE, Act III, sc. ii, Marlowe has "ordnance" five times, always spelling it "ordnance" according to custom, but only once so scanning it:—

And store of ordnance that from every flank . . .
 Hast thou beheld a peal of ordnance strike . . .
 Volleys of ordnance, till the breach be made . . .
 Betwixt which shall our ordnance thunder forth . . .

The exception is the line

Then see the bringing of our ordnance.

It seems clear that Marlowe, who so often inserts metrical syllables at convenience (*ent-e-rails*, *fu-e-ries*, *Emperess*, etc.), normally said "ordnance," and sounded the "i" only where it was needed to eke out a line. In FAUSTUS, Act III, sc. i, we have the two scansions, one in the 1604 quarto, the other in that of 1616; and in EDWARD III (v, i, 135) we have the trisyllable. It may be that all the dramatists alike treated the word as either dissyllable or trisyllable at convenience. In any case, Marlowe did so.

When, further, we scan the list of once-used words in HENRY V, it is Marlowe who is chiefly indicated among the pre-Shakespeareans, as apart from the chroniclers. From Hall or Holinshed come "rivage" and "spirituality" (found only in Nashe, I think, among the dramatists). Marlowe, as we have seen, has "borderers." "Streamers," found only in the Prologue to Act III of HENRY V in the Shakespeare plays, occurs thrice in TAMBURLAINE (Pt. I,

IV, ii, end; Pt. II, III, ii, 19; v, iii, 49). "Linstock," which occurs only in the same Prologue and as a stage direction in I HENRY VI, is a word of his (JEW OF MALTA, v, iv, 4). "Gimmel'd" and "pilfering" = marauding, both found in EDWARD III, and never outside of HENRY V in Shakespeare, may be either his or Greene's; while the verb "havoc," special to this play in the Concordance, is found in EDWARD II (iv, iv, 28). That the style of the "gimmel'd" and "pilfering" passages is Marlowe's rather than Greene's will, I think, be the verdict of most critics; and the fact that the former has "ringled bit" in HERO AND LEANDER (II, 143) is rather a proof of his attention to such details than a hint on the other side. So slight a clue as "honey-bees" is hardly worth following; but it may be noted that Marlowe has this word also in HERO AND LEANDER (I, 23). More interesting is the parallel between the allusion to the melting snow of the Alps in III, v, 50 (sometimes founded on as a proof of Shakespeare's knowledge of Horace) and two passages in Lucan (i, 219, 553) duly rendered by Marlowe in his translation. The French King's speech is quite in his manner. "Surrein'd jades" in HENRY V (III, v, 19) points to "over-ridden jades" in EDWARD III (III, iii, 162), and recalls the collocation of "reins" and "jades" in 2 TAMBURLAINE (v, iii, near end). In the same passage we have "decoct," occurring nowhere else in Shakespeare, but found in the "Ignoto" verses assigned to Marlowe. Compare:

Decoct their cold blood to such valiant heat . . .
I'll freely spend my thrice decocted¹ blood.

"Spousal," again, found only in this play (v, ii, 390) and in TITUS (I, i, 337) in the Shakespeare Concordance, occurs in DIDO (v, ii). There and in TITUS it is an adjective: here it is a noun, which weakens the at best slight force of the clue, since Chapman also has the

¹ "Concocted," with the same meaning, occurs in 2 *Tamb.*, III, ii.

adjective (WIDOW'S TEARS, III, i, 73). On the other hand, Heywood uses both "spousals" and "espousals" as a noun, frequently. And the passage in question, critically considered, really excludes any ascription to Marlowe. It is worth examining, as a problem by itself :

Q. Isa. God, the best maker of all marriages,
Combine your hearts in one, your realms in one !
As man and wife, being two, are one in love,
So be there 'twixt your kingdoms such a spousal
That never may ill office, or fell jealousy,
Which troubles oft the bed of blessed marriage,
Thrust in between the paction of these kingdoms,
To make divorce of their incorporate league ;
That English may as French, French Englishmen,
Receive each other. God speak this Amen !

This speech is lacking in the Quarto, but may have been dropped as unnecessary. It has two words special to this play, the just-mentioned *spousal* (sb.) and *paction* : it has four double-endings in one cluster, and it points in style neither to Marlowe, to Greene, nor to Peele. In these days many would like to take it as a pleasant anticipation, on the part of Shakespeare, of twentieth century developments. But is it Shakespeare's?

I cannot think that either the diction or the versification is his. Such a succession of end-stopped lines is alien to his "middle" as to his later manner ; and the phrasing has a sentimentally commonplace ring which is equally unlike him. Judging simply by tune and sentiment, one might be disposed to assign the lines to Heywood ; but we are faced by the difficulty that only a few verbal clues in the play seem to point to him, while quite a considerable number point to Chapman ; and we must not lightly multiply assignments. The end-stopped verse, the double-endings, the sentiment, *could* all come from Chapman, as we have him in his more serious comedies. The thesis about the man and wife being one in love is a special tic of his, being repeated by him at least eight times in his signed work.¹

¹ See the essay on *Julius Cæsar*, below, p. 145.

IX.—VOCABULARY CLUES

Let us then examine in detail the clues of vocabulary and phrase which seem to point to him, though in some cases also to Marlowe, his first model :—

A. WORDS FOUND IN NO OTHER SHAKESPEARE PLAY.

1. *Accomplishment* (Prol. i, 30). Chapman has the word in *The Shadow of the Night* (Poems, ed. Shepherd, p. 12a); and *accomplishments* in *Ovid's Banquet*, st. 78; and *accomplish* and *accomplished* often. But though non-Shakespearean, the word was of course common, and in Marlowe we find *accomplishments* (2 *Tamb.*, i, i).
2. *Indigent* (I, i, 16). Used by Chapman, *Eugenia* (Poems, 239b); 21st *Odyssey*, 255. [*Corporal*, in this line, is the form always found in Shakespeare. Chapman generally uses *corporeal*; but he has *corporal* also in *Sir Giles Goosecap*, v, ii, 11.] The word *indigent* also occurs in Drayton, *Robert of Normandy*, st. 39.
3. *Practic* (I, i, 51). This and the correlative word *theoric* in the next line (found in *All's Well* and *Othello*) are used together by Jonson (*Cynthia's Revels*, II, i: *practic* singly in same play, v, ii). The terms were fairly common, but this indication of Jonson is to be noted.
4. *Invoke* (I, ii, 104). Common in Chapman, but also in Marlowe.
5. *Bungle* (II, ii, 105). Chapman has *bungling* (*Revenge of Bussy*, III, ii, 166).
6. *Borderers* (I, ii, 142). Several times in Chapman; but also in Marlowe. This is of course a weak clue.
7. *Captived* (II, iv, 55). Used by Chapman, *Widow's Tears*, IV, ii, 75; but also by Marlowe; and the passage here clearly belongs to the old play.
8. *Demonstrative* (II, iv, 89). Chapman has the word in his prefatory note "To the Reader" with his *Seven Books of the Iliad*; and he has *demonstratively* in the *Masque of the Middle Temple*.
9. *Streamers* (Prol. iii, 6). Used by Chapman, 9th *Iliad*, 237. But also several times in Marlowe.
20. *Linstock* (Prol. iii, 3). Occurs as a stage direction in 1 *Henry VI*. Used by Chapman, *All Fools*, v, ii, 44. But also in Marlowe, *Jew*, v, iv, 4.

11. *Disciplines*. This plural occurs many times in Act III, sc. ii (Fluellen's "disciplines of the wars"), but in no other Shakespeare play. Chapman has "disciplines of war" in the Epistle Dedicatory to his Iliad; and "disciplines" in *Andromeda Liberata* (Poems, 192a). This is quite a special clue.¹
12. *Concavities* (III, ii, 64). *Concavity* twice in Chapman's *Blind Beggar*, sc. ii, 41, 42. Also once in Drayton, *Barons' Wars*, VI, 31.
13. *Pix* or *Pax* (III, vi, 42, 47). The Folio has *pax*, which is followed in the Globe and other editions. *Pix* is given by the sources: both Hall and Holinshed relating that a soldier was hanged for stealing a *pixe* in this campaign. The *pix* and the *pax* are different things. Chapman has "Kiss the paxe" in *May Day*, III, i, 85. Again a special clue.
14. *Pastern* (III, vii, 13). Several times in Chapman.
15. *Fluent* (III, vii, 36). In Chapman, Hom. Hymn to Apollo (Poems, 286b) and Hom. Epitaph on Midus (318a). He also has the substantive, frequently. But Marlowe also has the adjective.
16. *Relapse* (IV, iii, 107). Used by Chapman twice in *Byron's Tragedy*; (I, i, 1; III, ii, 97), and in *Hymn to Christ* (Poems, 146a). The line in *Henry V* is notably Chapman-like.
17. *Rim* (IV, iv, 15). Used twice by Chapman with the same special meaning, 5th Iliad, 538, 856. This is one of the strong clues.
18. *Foughten* (IV, iv, 18). Used by Chapman twice: *Hymnus in Cynthia*, l. 40; *Cæsar and Pompey*, IV, i, 24. But also used by Marlowe.
19. *Whiffler* (Prol. v, 12). Used by Chapman four times: *Monsieur d'Olive*, III, ii, 167, 176; *Widow's Tears*, II, iv, 104; Verses to Fletcher (Poems, 255).
20. *Coulter* (V, ii, 146). Twice in Chapman's trans. of Hesiod (Poems, 223, 224).
21. *Enscheduled* (V, ii, 73). There are so many once-used words in the Concordance beginning in *en* that no weight could attach to this. In any case I have failed to trace *enlink'd* and *enscheduled*—or *fumitory* or *kecksies* or *burnet*—in other playwrights. *Darnel* again is a Shakespeare word, and the inference is that in the speech of Burgundy he has been the final reviser.

¹ Mr. H. T. Price argues that the term is ridiculed by being put in the mouth of Fluellen; but Fluellen is *not* a disparaged character.

22. *Perspectively* (v, ii, 347). Chapman has *perspective*, but so has Greene.

To this list might be added *portage* (II, i, 10), which here has a different meaning from that carried in PERICLES (III, i, 35). There it signifies portorage: here it means port-way = gateway. The former sense I find in Drayton and Heywood; this nowhere else. It is in any case part of the pre-Shakespearean matter.

B.—PHRASES

1. "Your understanding soul" (I, ii, 15). Chapman has:

There rules in thee an understanding soul.

20th *Odyssey*, 362.

An understanding spirit.

23rd *Odyssey*, 22.

An understanding mind.

Hom. Hymn to Hermes: Poems, p. 299a.

The understanding part.

Tears of Peace, p. 122b.

That understanding part.

14th *Odyssey*, 699.

2. "They will steal anything and call it purchase" (III, ii, 44). Chapman has:

Borrowing with you is purchase.

Byron's Conspiracy, I, i, 126.

3. "In motion of no less celerity Than that of thought" (Prol., iii, 2-3). "So swift a pace hath thought" (Prol., v, 15). Compare:

Swift as thought.¹

Shadow of Night: Poems, p. 15a.

Swift as thought he flew.

Hom. Hymn to Apollo: Poems, p. 281b.

Swift as thought in Ithaca arrived.

1st *Odyssey*, 170.

But this was a standing tag; and Marlowe has:

That flies with fury swifter than our thoughts.

2 *Tamb.*, IV, iii, 5.

And on a proud-faced steed, as swift as thought.

Faustus, III, ii, 4.

¹ This tag occurs also in *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, iii, 330.

48 THE ORIGINATION OF "HENRY V"

4. "I knew the men would carry coals" (Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, I, i, 1). Chapman has:

Above all things you must carry no coals.

May-Day, I, 430.

He being of an un-coal-carrying spirit.

Id., III, iv.

5. "Well-foughten field" (IV, vi, 18) occurs in no other Shakespeare play. Chapman has:

That thrice-dreadful foughten field.

Hymnus in Cynthiam, l. 40.

But Marlowe also has:

Hell and Elysium swarm with ghosts of men

That I have sent from sundry foughten fields.

Tamb., V, ii, 593.

C.—WORDS USED IN ONE OR MORE COMPOSITE PLAYS, &C.

Scaffold (Prol. i, 10; *Richard III*, IV, iv, 242; scaffoldage, *Troilus*, I, iii, 156). The word, common enough in everyday use, could have no importance as a clue unless in a similar use.

Egregious (II, i, 49; IV, iv, 11. Occurs in *All's Well* and *Cymbeline*). The strong grounds for assigning to Chapman the recast of *All's Well* between Greene and Shakespeare, and the slighter ground for ascribing to him some hand in recasting an old *Cymbeline* (see *Shakespeare and Chapman*, pp. 218, 262-273) may be here indicated, with the fact that Chapman has *egregious* and *egregiously* at least half-a-dozen times in his signed work. (But Marlowe also has *egregious* several times.)

Yearn (orig. *erne*¹ = grieve: II, iii, 3, 6; IV, iii, 26; *Merry Wives*, III, v, 45; *Julius Cæsar*, II, ii, 129). Of this peculiar use there is an apparent instance in Chapman's *Shadow of Night* (Poems, p. 136). The word occurs also in Marlowe (*Ed. II*, IV, vi, 70); but these comic passages in our play are not his.

Pedigree (II, iv, 90. Occurs in 1 and 3 *Henry VI*). At least ten times in Chapman. (But also frequent in Marlowe.)

Threaden (Prol., iii, 10; *Lover's Complaint*, l. 33). Those who accept the argument that the *Complaint* is Chapman's, and have noted the use he makes of the word *thread*, will admit a *prima facie* presumption that the word is his here. If on the other hand it be held that the *Complaint* is really Shakespeare's, the presumption is of course the other way.

¹ See W. A. Wright's note on the word in Clar. Press ed. of *Julius Cæsar*, p. 146. The 1598 ed. of *Edward II* has this spelling also.

Licentious (III, iii, 22). Occurs in the composite *Comedy of Errors*, *Timon*, and *Pericles*. Again the argument implicates the case for Chapman's share in these three plays—most strongly made out in the case of *Timon*. He has the word at least four times in his signed work—thrice in his plays. It is fairly frequent in Marlowe also; but the passage in the Harfleur speech is one of those which suggest interpolation.

Lavoltas (III, v, 33: *lavolt* in *Troilus*). Again a contingent inference. But the word *lavoltas* is several times used by Greene. Chapman has it in *May-Day*, IV, i, 19, in a quotation. *Corantos* (same line), on the other hand, occurs in *Twelfth Night*.

Windpipe (III, vi, 45). Occurs in *Timon*; also in Chapman, but also in Marlowe (*Ed.* II, v, iv).

Intellectual (III, vii, 148; *Comedy of Errors*, II, i, 22). Occurs at least four times in Chapman, who often has "intellect," also "intellective" thrice. The passage in our play seems late matter.

Armourers (Prol. iv, 12; Prol. ii, 3; *Troilus*, I, ii, 6; twice in 2 *Henry VI*). A required word, therefore of little significance. I have not noted it in Chapman's signed work; but he has *armoury* at least half-a-dozen times.

Rivets (Prol. iv, 13; *Troilus*, twice). Again the inference is contingent on the view taken of *Troilus*. The word occurs in Heywood (*Iron Age*: Works, iii, 316).

Lank ("lank-lean": Prol. iv, 26; "lank and lean," 2 *Henry VI*, I, iii, 132). The last-cited passage is non-Shakespearean, and may be pre-Shakespearean. If so, it is probably Marlowe's; and to him might be imputed this prologue. Chapman uses "lank" twice.

Flexure (IV, i, 272; *Troilus*, II, iii, 115). The speech of Henry, turning on Chapman's favourite topic of ceremony (see *Hero and Leander*; Poems, pp. 72a, b; 73a, *passim*), suggests a re-writing of a speech of his by Shakespeare. Chapman has the word thrice in the poem cited.

Engluttred (IV, iii, 83; *Timon*, II, ii, 175). Not traced elsewhere; but *gluttred* is common. (For Chapman, cp. Prof. Schoell's ed. of *The Distracted Emperor*, p. 150).

Fallow leas; *fallows* (V, ii, 40, 54). "Leas" occurs only in the probably non-Shakespearean masque in the *Tempest*. "Fallow" as a noun does not occur elsewhere save in "bare fallow" in *Measure for Measure*, I, iv, 42. Chapman has "leas" five times and "fallows" twice.

Reduce (=bring back : v, ii, 63; *Richard III*, II, ii, 68). This was a normal Elizabethan use, found in Marlowe. It occurs in Chapman, 15th Od., 306; 24th Od., 175. He also has "reduces," 16th Od., 296. In *Richard III*, the word is probably Marlowe's.

Defused or *diffused* (v, ii, 61; *Merry Wives*, IV, iv, 54; *Richard III*, I, ii, 78). The two forms are mainly spelling-variants, "diffused" being often used in the period with the force of "defused." Chapman has the word at least five times.

Consign (=consent or submit, v, ii, 90, 326). Occurs elsewhere only in the song in *Cymbeline*, IV, ii, which has by many critics been pronounced non-Shakespearean. Its word "thunderstone" points to Chapman, who uses it twice. But I do not remember to have seen "consign" in his signed work. "Consigning" in 2 *Henry IV* (v, ii, 143) has a similar force, but of course without the suggestion of "submit."

Freckled (v, ii, 49; *Tempest* I, ii, 283). Occurs at least twelve times in Chapman.

Deracinate (v, ii, 47; *Troilus*, I, iii, 99). This formation from the French, occurring in two plays revised by Shakespeare but apparently both previously shared in by Chapman, suggests the latter as the coiner, in view of his known familiarity with French. But the point must remain uncertain.

It may be useful to add here a list of other once-used words in our play which have not been above dealt with, but which other investigators may be able to find in other dramatists :

Accomplishing	Currance	Insteepled	Spirit
Admonishing	Cursorary	Interception	Sternage
Advantageable	Defendant	Intertissued	Stilly (adv.)
Adventurously	Defunction		Sumless
Appertinents	Enrouned	Miscreate (ptcple.)	Tombless
Cheerer	Exhibitors	Mistful	
Cockpit			Uncurl'd
Commissioners	Gunstones	Paction	Uneasiness
Congreeing	Haggled	Poring	Unraised
Congreeted		Projection	
Contrariously	Imbar		Vaultages
Cowarded	Impounded	Slobbery	
Crescive	Inheritrix	Slovenry	Womby

Alike among the traced and the untraced words, it need hardly be said, a number have little significance in themselves, some being flections of verbs in common use (as, *accomplishing* and *accomplishment*), while a number more are common nouns. Some occur in plainly Shakespearean passages. On the other hand, some of the most unusual formations, as, *contrariously*, *cowarded*, *crescive*, *currance*, *cursorary*, *defunction*, *miscreate*, *sternage*, and *womby vaultages*, are still untraced to other playwrights. If they can be found, they may throw fresh light on the composition of our play. Finding in Ben Jonson *legerity* (below, p. 55) and both *practic* and *theoric* (CYNTHIA'S REVELS, II, i and v, 2); also the *linstock* which we have found in Marlowe and Chapman (EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR, III, i), we are moved to ask whether Jonson, who was certainly a possible collaborator in the play, is indicated anywhere by style or sentiment. So far as I can see, he is not: and as he is of all the contemporary dramatists the one who has most vocabulary in common with Chapman, there arises the presumption that his use of *legerity*, which is humorous, may follow on the serious use of it in HENRY V. As a formation from the French, it would be in Chapman's way. Still, the passage is in Shakespeare's style, and the word may be of his adoption.

X.—A DECISIVE ISSUE

Further scrutiny by other eyes may yield further light; and such scrutiny may be furthered by gathering the results of that which has been made above.

We are led by induction to a general conclusion which might à priori be pronounced highly probable—that a play on HENRY V, embodying some of the popular matter of the old FAMOUS VICTORIES, had been put together about 1590 by Marlowe and his group, who

were then in process of framing their series of chronicle plays embracing the first three Edwards, the Wars of the Roses, and the intermediate reigns. In that series, HENRY V inevitably found a place, as an EDWARD IV did later.

The play ran mainly to drum and trumpet, as does EDWARD III, its "twin." In the latter piece, probably rough-hewn by Marlowe, the episode of the King and Countess Salisbury, already familiar through popular fiction, offered a relief from the monotony of martial declamation; and its expansion by Greene suggests that such a variation was welcome. But even with that interlude—perhaps partly because of it, since its poetic power would not recommend it to patriotic feeling—EDWARD III does not seem to have been a persistently popular play; and one on Henry V, lacking such a diversion, could hardly be much more attractive, "comic relief" not being in the vein of Marlowe. It may have had a wooing scene between Henry and Katherine, in verse; but it would mainly consist, after the passage from England to France, of that alternate presentation of heroically modest English valour and fatuous French vanity which still bulks so largely in the extant play, as in EDWARD III. It is reassuring to infer that audiences soon tired of that primitively patriotic art, so essentially devoid of the modesty it imputes to its heroes. It is at all events clear that for the successful revival of HENRY V—it may have been years before 1599—it was felt necessary to insert a multiplicity of new "comic relief." Upon the prologue to Act II follows a London scene of "humours," with Nym, Bardolph, Pistol and Mrs. Quickly all in burlesque action; and they return after the scene of the conspiracy at Southampton. Again in Act III, after orotund prologue and King's speech, we have the much longer scene of Nym, Bardolph, Pistol, Boy, Fluellen, Gower,

Macmorris and Captain Jamy; and after the declamatory interlude of the King's second speech, "out-Heroding Herod," we have the trivial scene of Katherine and Alice, from which we pass to the older matter of French braggadocio. And so we alternate between French and English braggadocio and burlesque, French folly and English and Welsh "humours," till in the fourth Act Shakespeare seriously takes hold and, perhaps re-writing old matter, inserts the carefully-written prose scene of the King and the soldiers, followed by the King's soliloquy—the one section of the play that is worthy of him. He had, I think, revised the verse, old and new, tranquilly manipulating the feculent panegyric on the King by the ecclesiastics, and rhetorically heightening the debate of the second scene and the King's allocution to the conspirators at Southampton. That he took seriously the unctuous ethic which justifies the invasion is to be believed only by those who can read without wincing the distressing preface of Professor Henry Morley, of pious memory. That attempt to lay the King's responsibility on the ecclesiastics may or may not be acceptable to the successors of the latter: it will no more be taken seriously by critical laymen than it would have been by Shakespeare himself. The King's reason for the invasion of France is given by him with entire clearness and simplicity in the preceding play (2 HENRY IV, IV, v, 210-220). After the father's counsel, the parade of supererogatory motives by the clerical counsellors of the son might gratify the popular conscience: it could not impose upon the dramatist, of all men.

The patriotic convention he let pass¹ as he let pass

¹ Professor Elton, ascribing the entire play to Shakespeare, has written (*Michael Drayton*, 1905, p. 106) that

Sir Richard Ketley, Davy Gam, Esquire,
"is the worst line in his works." I hope that fine critic will concede, on challenge, that Shakespeare never wrote such a line, any more than he penned the patriotic assertion that only twenty-five Englishmen and a few nobles were killed at the battle of Agincourt.

the Marlowese savagery and the added burlesque (in which we may see his hand in Mrs. Quickly and the Boy, and at times in Fluellen), the old caricature of the French, the new trivialities of French dialogue, and the wooing of Katherine by Henry. Could he hear in the shades the contemptuous comment of Voltaire on these items he would unreservedly assent. They are not his. Nor would he have argued that a play of war in which Nym and Pistol are ever in the forefront is on the whole anything more than a piece of theatrical patchwork meant first and last to draw audiences. That was his business, which down to his middle period he had but occasionally been able to bend to high creative impulses. His one section of serious treatment, possibly a re-writing of older matter, stands out from everything else in key and execution. And even that section, as regards the King's soliloquy, appears to be earlier than 1599. Technically it is akin to the versification of I HENRY IV.

Until it can be ascertained at what date the old play came into the possession of his company, we must leave partly open the question of interpolations and adaptations by other hands. The facts that in the Munday-Chettle play of the DOWNFALL OF THE EARL OF HUNTINGTON (played early in 1598¹) we have the burlesque word *fracted* (II, ii) as in our play (II, i, 130); and that there also we have *executors*=executioners, as in our play (I, ii, 203), suggest rather banter of this by that than a contrary process; just as Jonson's burlesque use of *legerity* in EVERY MAN OUT (II, i), suggests banter of our play, where the word is used seriously in this its one appearance in the Concordance (IV, i, 23). (Shakespeare's *executors* is also seriously used; and so tells that *exécutors*, in IV, ii, 51, is not here of his penning). The natural inference from the DOWNFALL would seem

¹ Henslowe's Diary, ed. Greg, i, 83.

to be that the other two items in HENRY V were there before February, 1598; but as the DOWNFALL was afterwards "amended" by Chettle,¹ they may be additions made by him in or after 1599.

Our survey of the apparently non-Shakespearean elements in the vocabulary and phraseology has shown the preponderating presence of Marlowe in the older matter, with apparent traces also of Greene and Peele; while as regards the later matter in Act v, Chapman is indicated by various words and phrases, as he is in several places of Pistol dialogue. The serious use of *fracted* is presumably his in TIMON (II, i, 22); and the burlesque use may be his here. The peculiar use of *rim* seems particularly to point to him. The Chapmanesque speech of Burgundy in v, ii, seems to have been revised by Shakespeare as to versification; but the speech of Queen Isabella at the end probably has not. The former section, with its 25 per cent. of double-endings in mostly end-stopped verse, has received a smoothness not common in Chapman; but Chapman's, so far as I can judge, it substantially remains.² And to Chapman, apparently, must be assigned one manipulation which decisively cancels the thesis that in this play as a whole Shakespeare was setting forth his "ideal" of a great man of action.

There has been no vital re-handling by Shakespeare, though he has inserted the best matter, ethical and poetical. The place at which he might have been expected to intervene most scrupulously—the order of Henry for the slaying of all prisoners—apparently remains as it was in the old play with only the worsening modification introduced by the obviously interpolated scene between Fluellen and Gower, and the scrap of

¹ *Id.* p. 99 (compare ii, 190).

² If, in despite of the vocabulary clues to Chapman, it be pronounced Shakespeare's original work, it must be dated later than 1600. It is not in the Quarto.

verse which preludes it. At the end of scene vi we have the hasty lines, spoken by the King :—

But hark, what new alarum is *this same*?
The French have reinforced their scattered men :
 Then every soldier kill his prisoners ;
 Give the word through.

In scene vii, in the next breath, Gower says that "the King, *most worthily, hath caused* every soldier to cut his prisoner's throat"—that is, by implication, as a retaliation for the alleged slaughter of all the "boys" with the luggage, a totally different explanation. But immediately afterwards comes the King, declaring that he had been "not angry since I came to France until this instant." He says nothing of a slaughter of the boys, but connects his anger with "the horsemen on yond hill," who remain as a menace, without fighting :—

If they will fight with us, bid them come down,
 Or void the field ; they do offend our sight.
 If they'll do neither, we will come to them,
 And make them skirr away, as swift as stones
 Enforced from the old Assyrian slings.
Besides, we'll cut the throats of those we have,
 And not a man of them that we shall take
 Shall taste our mercy. Go, and tell them so.

Here Marlowe—for the line about the old Assyrian slings is surely his—has made Henry merely threaten the slaughter of the prisoners in the event of the non-dispersal of the French horsemen. It follows, then, that even the four lines given to the King at the end of scene vi, which say nothing of the attack on the baggage quarters, have been either added or altered ; and that the Fluellen-Gower scene has been super-imposed. It introduces a pretext which had not been indicated either before or after in the old play.

The revision, then, had presumably two stages. The King's speech in scene vii cannot have been written *after* the lines at the end of scene vi ; or after the dialogue of Fluellen and Gower : he either knows

nothing of the attack which they describe or has just seen it and makes no comment. If the King's speech had been written last, the deletion of the two previous passages ordering and vindicating the massacre would have been a matter of course. But the King's speech in scene vii is of all three passages the most visibly archaic in style. What has inferably happened in the revision is, first, a plan to substitute the actual killing of the prisoners, so expressly described by the chroniclers, for the representation of it as a mere threat—a plan which, however, was not completed by the necessary deletion of the King's speech in the next scene. Then yet another hand inserts, by way of comic relief, the Gower and Fluellen scene, in which a new reason is assigned for the massacre, with a justification of it; and the boy's allusion to the defenceless state of the camp at the end of scene iv by way of a lead; and still there is no adjustment of the changes, all three versions being left standing. What is more, they are left standing in the Quarto, which is thus more clearly than ever proved to be no "first sketch" but a mere compression of an already composite play, left unrevised here after several manipulations, *none of them by Shakespeare*.

It seems fairly clear that Marlowe had evaded the sore question of Henry's massacre of his prisoners by making it merely a threat, like the menace to Harfleur. But either this was felt to be too bare-faced a suppression to be persisted in, or one reviser was zealous to have the matter out. Holinshed had written, *first*, that six hundred French horsemen had attacked and plundered the baggage-quarters, killing "such servants as they found to make any resistance"; and that the King, when he heard "the outcry of the lackeys and boys which *ran away*," and fearing a renewal of the battle in which the prisoners would be a danger, "commanded,

by sound of trumpet, that every man, upon pain of death, should incontinently kill his prisoner." Here Holinshed follows Hall nearly verbatim; and, like Hall, he goes on to tell how "pity it was to see" [*Hall*: "and loathsome it was to behold"] the massacre, which is then hideously described.¹ In Hall, there is no modification. Holinshed, however, goes on to say that "some write" that the King, "perceiving his enemies in one part to assemble together as though they meant to give a new battle," sent a herald with the threat recited in Marlowe's lines above quoted. For Marlowe and the other original draftsmen this sufficed: the acceptable version was taken and the odious one evaded. Henry had merely delivered a threat, as before Harfleur; he had not committed an atrocious massacre. But whether or not the critics had protested, a certain reviser saw his way to what he regarded as a vindication.

To say, as does Courtenay, that "Shakespeare takes both accounts," is to miss the evidence of unrevised adaptation. The original play had posited neither the attack on the baggage nor the massacre; and all the attempts of the variorum commentators to explain the confusion are futile because this is not recognised.² The tentative revisers *interposed* the massacre and the excuse for it, leaving the original exposition otherwise unaltered. That Shakespeare conducted this lame operation I find incredible. Whether or not Henry was "the hero of his manhood," he would have taken more pains than this if he had handled the episode at all.

¹ With the exception of Prof. Morley, who quotes Holinshed in full, all modern writers on the point, so far as I have seen, contrive to omit this passage, as does Mr. Boswell-Stone. Drayton tells the tale somewhat gingerly, asserting, however, that ten thousand were massacred. (*Battle of Agincourt*, 1627, p. 62.)

² Malone urges (1) that Shakespeare has chosen to make Henry mention one of his reasons and Gower mention the other; (2) that not all the prisoners had been killed; and (3) that it was politic for Henry to conceal the fact of the massacre for the purposes of the threat. (4) Monck Mason argues that the threat refers to those taken in the "subsequent charge made by Bourbon," etc. The case is a chaos.

But neither are the interpolated verse-lines nor the prose of Fluellen and Gower his. If they were, his vindication of "the hero of his manhood" as having acted "most worthily" in giving an order in a panic for the massacre of all prisoners, would leave us well disillusioned about his taste in heroes.

But for ascribing the vindication to Chapman we have strong ground. He is the one Englishman, not a Catholic, who is known to have justified the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day; and he does it wilfully, perversely, and gratuitously. In the *REVENGE OF BUSSY D'AMBOIS*, he makes several shifty characters, tools of the Crown, maintain that the Crown's interest cancels all other considerations.¹ That is dramatically in keeping. But it is in the mouth of Clermont, his hero and paragon, that he puts the vindication of the Massacre, as against one of the ordinary shifters who denounces it. Baligny, the opportunist, says of the Guise that one act

Sticks by him still, and will distain him ever;
and Clermont extracts the specification :

Bal. To satisfy you, 'twas the massacre.

Cler. The massacre? I thought 'twas some such blemish.

Bal. Oh, it was heinous!

Cler.

To a brutish sense,

But not a manly reason. We so tender

The vile part in us, that the part divine

We see in hell, and shrink not. Who was first

Head of that massacre?

Bal.

The Guise.

Cler.

'Twas nothing so.

Who was in fault for all the slaughters made

In Ilion, and about it? Were the Greeks?

Was it not Paris, ravishing the Queen

Of Lacedaemon? Breach of shame and faith,

And all the laws of hospitality? . . .

When truth is overthrown, his laws corrupted;

When souls are smother'd in the flatter'd flesh,

Slain bodies are no more than oxen slain . . .

¹ Compare I, i, 134-144; II, i, 29 seq.; IV, i, 47 seq.

And the argument goes yet further:—

Had faith, nor shame, all hospitable rights,
 Been broke by Troy, Greece had not made that slaughter,
 Had that been saved (says a philosopher),
The Iliads and Odysseys had been lost;
 Had Faith and true Religion been preferr'd,
 Religious Guise had never massacred.

Here, evidently, is the sophister required to vindicate Henry's panic-massacre of his prisoners. It was not a task for Shakespeare; and he left it, we may gather, to the other. And whereas the entrusting of the defence to Gower and Fluellen may suggest that even Chapman did not feel enthusiastically about it, yet it is wilfully introduced; and what was possible to the flighty judgment of Chapman was impossible to Shakespeare.

The decisive point is that it is to Chapman that we are led by special marks of vocabulary in previous Fluellen scenes, as in the Pistol scenes. Inasmuch as a number of peculiar clues of word and phrase connect Chapman with both Fluellen and Pistol, we are entitled tentatively to impute that part of the hackwork to him; and on general grounds we may also tentatively assign to him the scenes in which French is spoken—absurdly, as in the scenes where the French nobles speak English verse with French phrases interspersed, or vapidly, as in the scene between Alice and Katherine. That is quite on a par with the *hig-hag-hog* scene in the WIVES. If anyone can convict another workman and acquit the translator of Homer, some of us will be well pleased, though this is a small matter in comparison with the panegyric of the massacre of prisoners. But if the matter indicated does no credit to Chapman it is a mere humiliation for Shakespeare; and it is some indemnification for Chapman to be credited with the better matter in Act v, albeit it is in part revised by Shakespeare. As for Henry's wooing scene, which is but an expansion of the primitive matter of the FAMOUS

VICTORIES, Dr. Johnson was well entitled to say that "the poet's matter failed him," and, for once agreeing with Voltaire, that "We have here but a mean dialogue for princes: the merriment is very gross, and the sentiments are very worthless." The scene is the merest capitulation to the popular taste, as established by the primary play. The fact that the marriage is placed five years before its time would trouble nobody accustomed to the chronicle plays; but the fact that Shakespeare left another hand to expand such a scene is one more flout to the assumption that he was framing a play to exhibit "the hero of his manhood." Latter-day commentators have been feebly complaisant over matter in which, had they found it in any other dramatist, they would never have dreamt of seeing Shakespearean quality. Johnson is not always percipient; but we must endorse him here.

The final consideration for us, however, is that the resort to French in the courtship scene, as in others, is the mark of another writer. We are not even entitled to assume that Shakespeare read French: we are quite disentitled to suppose that, knowing it ill, he would try to write it. The Pistol scene with the French prisoner (IV, iv) is so trivially poor that it cannot possibly be his. If he knew spoken French, however, he would not have allowed the blunder of *brass* for *bras* to pass. That is the blunder of an Englishman who *read* French, but had not learned to speak it. Jonson blunders similarly (THE CASE IS ALTERED, IV, i) in pronouncing *bien* "bean"; and Jonson is indicated by one or two other clues as a *possible* sharer in our play. Heywood, too, writing mere dog-French (IF YOU KNOW NOT ME: Pearson, i, 312) makes a Frenchman pronounce *point* as an English word.¹ But Chapman we know to have

¹ Another possible sharer, to speak *à priori*, is (as aforesaid) Drayton, who so specially associated himself with the tale of Agincourt, and whom we shall find indicated by some apparent clues in *Julius Cæsar*. But I can draw no inferences from his two poems on Agincourt, dated 1606 and 1627; and I have found too few clues to our play in Drayton's vocabulary to found an opinion upon.

read French; and to him we may ascribe the Pistol scene because we trace him in other Pistol scenes by peculiar vocabulary. It is then reasonable to suppose that he wrote the other scenes—all of them poor hack-work—in which French occurs. That between Alice and Katherine is so poor that nearly every commentator, including even Professor Henry Morley, has been fain to call it non-Shakespearean. But all the French dialogue and the French phrasing is poor stuff, and the natural inference is that it is all from one hand. To be able to relieve Shakespeare of these and other discredits is one of the comforts accruing from an attentive investigation of the Canon.

And this gain, attainable on the most strictly critical grounds, is denied us only upon grounds which confute themselves. Mr. Hereward T. Price, who admits of no alternative to the view that Shakespeare wrote HENRY V as it stands in 1599, is reduced to contending on the one hand that the play is written with extreme carelessness, and on the other that "its brilliance and its ease are the signs that he was master of his subject, *not that it mastered him and would not let him go.*" In this antithesis I can find no intelligible thesis. But the argument develops yet more strangely. "The crowds of unnecessary characters, some pressed into service on the spur of the moment *without a thought of what the stage demands, the irreconcilable and glaring contradictions, the numberless mistakes in detail, poor lines mixed with good just as they came*, are not these typical of a HENRY V as it sprang from Shakespeare's brain?" In the name of reason, one asks, why so? Are heedless multiplication of characters, utter disregard of stage economy, slovenly composition, and glaring contradictions in narrative typical of Shakespeare's spontaneous working? "They certainly do not belong to a

¹ Essay cited, p. 41.

HENRY V that had passed through the fire of his correction," adds Mr. Price. There we readily assent. The outcome of the foregoing inquiry is that Shakespeare, after some early revising, gave almost no heed to the final medley, the result of the work of a number of hands at different periods. But that such a medley should be claimed as a *typical* Shakespeare play¹ is the most staggering critical conclusion yet put forward.

It proceeds upon an *à priori* position that in itself is still more bewildering. "Shakespeare," writes Mr. Price (p. 21), "taking up in 1599 a work dating from his early youth, *would have made of it something so immeasurably superior* that it would be impossible to patch up the old garment with bits from the new. The contrast would be too striking." Whether or not "dating from his early youth"² means "his own work of early youth," the rebuttal is equally incomprehensible. Mr. Price is committed to the singular position that (a) Shakespeare could and did *originate* in 1599 a work abounding in signs of "hurry and carelessness," full of hopeless contradictions, composed without any regard to stage needs; but that (b) if a play of that character had come before him in the ordinary way of revivals, he would infallibly have transformed it into something incomparably superior! It is unnecessary to argue down such a position. It is self-destructive. If Shakespeare, writing with a free hand at the height of his power, was capable of all the literary sins confessed to for him by Mr. Price, he was *à fortiori* capable of

¹ After making this claim, Mr. Price in conclusion decides that, "with the possible exception of the *Merry Wives*, there is no work of Shakespeare's middle period about whose fate he is so likely to have been indifferent as *Henry V.*" Then how can it be conceived as "typical"? Is the *Merry Wives* typical?

² Mr. Price is here dealing with the views of Messrs. Pollard and Dover Wilson. The present argument does *not* assign any of Shakespeare's work to his "early youth," but admits of his having begun to touch up *Henry V* some years before 1599.

letting so faulty a work be staged with or without fresh contributions from himself.

Imperfect revision of an old and re-cast medley is shown by other plays to have been only too possible for him. Such imperfect revision is (on our theory) exhibited in different degrees in the MERRY WIVES, in RICHARD III, in HAMLET, and in JULIUS CÆSAR. But if he really wrote homogeneous dramas marked by all the blots admitted by Mr. Price to blemish HENRY V, Voltaire's conception of him as a *sauvage ivre* would be entitled to respectful attention. As against any such conception, while granting that he was capable of carelessness both in construction and in revision, one may safely say that only in a state of delirium could he have penned or placed in their sequence the three versions given us in this play of the story of the massacre of the prisoners at Agincourt. Regarded as the result of two interpolations by other hands before the original speech of the King penned by Marlowe, they are perfectly intelligible. As the spontaneous composition of *any* one author they are an insanity.

That not a line of them is of Shakespeare's penning will, I think, be recognised by students who attend to style. It is primarily through inattention to style that such mountainous anomalies have so long passed muster as Shakespearean. On Mr. Price's view, the master not merely wrote bad lines "as they came," and concocted such puerile scenes as those of Katherine with Alice and Henry,¹ but revived a multitude of ancient Marlowese tags and crassly copied Marlowe's style and diction after he had written 1 HENRY IV and the soliloquy of Henry in the fourth Act of this play. Such conclusions, even when bracketed with careful and competent textual

¹ Here, apparently, Mr. E. H. C. Oliphant coincides. He dismisses as feeble and useless only the chatter of the captains. But that is far from being the poorest stuff in the play, useless as it is to the action; and much other matter is equally useless.

research, violate alike the first and the last principles of criticism. Decidedly every innovating theory as to the Canon must be carefully checked; but traditional theory here, it is submitted, stands convicted of self-contradiction.

THE ORIGATION OF "JULIUS CÆSAR"

I.—THE PROBLEM OUTLINED

The critic who ventures to challenge the Shakespearean origin of "The Tragedie of Julius Cæsar," or to deny that in respect of style it is a homogeneous work, must still resign himself to a hostile reception. The last revival of the play on the London stage did indeed set up some spontaneous questioning as to its artistic merit; but that did not go beyond a complaint of anti-climax, and of the crudity of the construction towards the close. Of literary misgiving as to the mosaic of the style there seems to have been no hint. And so far as can be gathered from the Furness Variorum edition of the play (1913), only one critic has anticipated the present writer in positing the existence of a very early play, of which portions subsist in the existing text. Mr. Bayfield, in his searching and suggestive work on Shakespeare's Versification (1919), appears to have been the first critic to publish a comment on the markedly primitive character of the verse in 'Antony's oration'¹; though more than one student has privately remarked it; and even Mr. Bayfield specifies only the oration, though there is a quantity of other verse in the play that is equally end-stopped, and some of it is much poorer in diction. Professor M. W. McCallum, in his valuable study of SHAKESPEARE'S ROMAN PLAYS (1910), says of CÆSAR that "*its style, metre, and treatment are all characteristic of Shakespeare's early prime*"²—by which last phrase he means

¹ *A Study of Shakespeare's Versification*, p. 46.

² As cited, p. 176.

circa 1600. But Professor McCallum goes into no detail on this proposition; and the tests indicated are, as we shall see, really hostile to his estimate. Part I of HENRY IV, unquestionably early in respect that of all the plays it has the lowest percentage (5.1) of double-endings, has yet 22.8 of run-on lines; while JULIUS CÆSAR has but 19.3; little more than the proportion in the certainly early KING JOHN (17.7); and in point of what we may term flexibility of verse both of the early plays named are in the main superior to the bulk of JULIUS CÆSAR, which contains much verse that relatively to them is archaic. Even by the test of double-endings, CÆSAR (with 19.7) is less advanced than HENRY V (21.8), and is but abreast of the early RICHARD III (19.5). *Some* of the verse, certainly, belongs to Shakespeare's middle style; but much does not; and the divergences constitute a main part of the problem of the play. The test of percentage of speeches ending on a short line does indeed place JULIUS CÆSAR (with 20.3, as counted by König) later than the HENRY IV and HENRY V plays (14.2, 16.8, 18.3) and in a group with MUCH ADO (20.7), and AS YOU LIKE IT (21.6). But while this test is with justice stressed by Dr. Bradley¹ as a significant one, it is obvious that it is specially liable to deflection where a play has undergone much curtailment; and the marks of curtailment in JULIUS CÆSAR, as we shall see, are many. The relative maturity of its style and metre, then, is properly to be estimated by the other verse tests and by those of diction, composition, and rhythm; and neither Antony's oration nor the fourth and fifth Acts in general can by those tests pass as work of Shakespeare's maturity.

And there are other cruces, equally seldom faced. That Brutus in the second and fourth Acts puts two expressly

¹ *Shakespearean Tragedy*, 2nd ed., 1908, p. 473.

68 ORIGATION OF "JULIUS CÆSAR"

different and irreconcilable reasons for opposing Cæsar, seems to have struck none of the press critics, though the "Arden" edition of the play had commented the fact; and seeing that no innovating critical inference is there drawn, the critical quiescence of the press is intelligible. What might have been looked for was a recognition of the poverty of a good deal of the writing in the later Acts. Mr. E. H. C. Oliphant, in an article on "Shakespeare's Plays" in the *Modern Languages Review* of January, 1909, had pointed out that "JULIUS CÆSAR is almost certainly of two dates, though but little of the early work is left. . . . The original play, of which traces are visible here and there, must have been of very early date; witness this passage (from v, 3):

Pin. So I am free; yet would not so have been,
Durst I have done my will. O Cassius!
Far from this country Pindarus shall run;
Where never Roman shall take note of him.

Mes. It is but change, Titinius; for Octavius
Is overthrown by noble Brutus' power,
As Cassius' legions are by Antony.

Tit. These tidings will well comfort Cassius.

Mes. Where did you leave him?

Tit. All disconsolate,
With Pindarus, his bondman, on this hill.

Mes. Is not that he that lies upon the ground?

Tit. He lies not like the living. O my heart!"

Concerning the early play thus sampled, Mr. Oliphant implies that it also was of Shakespeare's penning. Not only, however, is that assumption properly to be barred, but it is to be noted that, in addition to Antony's oration, there are many more examples of "early" versification in the play. Some, from earlier Acts as well as from

¹ A section of an interesting and important "Examination" of the composite aspect of many of the plays. I had not met with Mr. Oliphant's article until my own work on the problem was substantially done.

Act v (III, i, 99-122; v, i, 22-68, 76-88) are cited herein-after; others are :—

Artemidorus. Here will I stand till Cæsar pass along,
And as a suitor will I give him this.
My heart laments that virtue cannot live
Out of the teeth of emulation.
If thou read this, O Cæsar, thou mayst live ;
If not, the Fates with traitors do contrive.

Act II, sc. iii.

Messenger. Prepare you, generals :
The enemy comes on in gallant show ;
Their bloody sign of battle is hung out,
And something to be done immediately.

Act v, sc. i.

Brutus. How ill this taper burns ! Ha ! who comes here ?
I think it is the weakness of mine eyes
That shapes this monstrous apparition.
It comes upon me. Art thou anything ?
Art thou some god, some angel, or some devil,
That makest my blood cold and my hair to stare ?
Speak to me what thou art.

Act IV, sc. iii.

There is never the suggestion of Shakespeare's "maturity" here. But there are larger grounds for misgiving as to the Shakespearean quality of the work. Always, for two centuries, there has been avowal of want of balance in this drama as a presentment of Cæsar ; and that confession has for the most part averted further inquiry. Yet thirty-six years ago F. G. Fleay fluttered the then New Shakspeare Society by putting a hypothesis which not only goes a long way to account for the final inadequacy of the play, but tends to raise issues the solving of which might clear up particular anomalies such as that of the double doctrine of Brutus. His suggestion was that JULIUS CÆSAR, as it stands, is a play revised and curtailed by Ben Jonson. He did not note the archaic character of the verse in Antony's oration, or the many other traces of pre-Shakespearean handicraft in the piece. Further investigation might have led him to note that and other problems. But the woodenly

hostile reception given to his hypothesis by the Society was quite sufficient to discourage its development. Fleay at the outset, it must be confessed, gave many openings to opponents; and they saw nothing else. Furnivall, who on his own account could rarely detect any structural anomaly in the plays, flouted the suggestion in the robustious manner in which he assailed, later, the proposition of the Clarendon Press editors that there is pre-Shakespearean matter left in *HAMLET*. He could see, upon arithmetical demonstration, that the verse in the opening scene of the *ERRORS* is very different from that of *HENRY VIII* in respect of double-endings; but he never discovered that the second scene of the *ERRORS* exhibits a similar contrast to the first. The last generation rested very much on its oars in these inquiries; and most of the work is still to do. *JULIUS CÆSAR*, with its many sections of pre-Shakespearean versification, continues to be dated in its entirety after 2 *HENRY IV*; and in no edition is the slightest doubt breathed as to its wholly Shakespearean authorship. A patient hearing is now craved for an inquiry which, beginning with a consideration of Fleay's hypothesis, reaches conclusions which go considerably beyond it.

II.—FLEAY'S HYPOTHESIS

The theory of Fleay as to the composition of *JULIUS CÆSAR*, put by him in his *SHAKESPEARE MANUAL*, and in his *LIFE OF SHAKESPEARE* (p. 215), has latterly attracted very little attention from critics and editors. Mr. Michael Macmillan, in his valuable edition of the play in the Arden series, has not mentioned it; and Dr. Aldis Wright, in his Clarendon Press edition of 1878, was content, after quoting with admiration a

critical estimate of the play by Archbishop Trench, to dismiss the first form of Fleay's argument (put in the *MANUAL*), as follows :—

It is with a strong feeling of incongruity that I pass from the Archbishop's well-deserved tribute to the dramatic and poetic excellence of our play to mention a theory with regard to its composition which has recently been put forward. In his *Shakespeare Manual*, Mr. Fleay maintains that *Julius Cæsar* in its present form is "an abridgement of Shakespeare's play made by Ben Jonson." The arguments adduced in support of this theory are certainly not such as the readers of Shakespeare have a right to demand, and to anyone who cares to investigate the subject I cannot recommend a more instructive study than a comparison between the Roman plays of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson.¹

We have here an "instructive" example of the fashion in which a really good specialist scholar can put away from him a proposition that he has not a mind to weigh patiently. The concluding sentence presumably means that Jonson's *SEJANUS* and *CATILINE* are in certain important respects very different, as works of art, from the Shakespearean Roman plays. This, probably, no one ever dreamt of disputing. Neither Fleay nor any one else had suggested that *JULIUS CÆSAR* is *like* a Jonson play in the large sense referred to. Fleay did not call it, even loosely, a Jonson play; he called it a Shakespeare play *abridged* by Jonson. Such a play, if a tragedy, should not be critically expected to assume the general aspect of a Jonson tragedy, simply because the main difference between the two artists lies in their way of differentiating character and handling action. Jonson's artistic method is primarily didactic, hortatory, and to that end declamatory; Shakespeare's is primarily presentative of persons, characters, *and actions*; and to that end it normally turns declamation. Jonson indeed develops his Tiberius and Sejanus with psychological care; but his other personages in *SEJANUS* are little

¹ Pref. to ed. cited, p. xiv.

differentiated. In *abridging* a Shakespeare play or double-play, he might re-cast some speeches; but he could not make it a typical Jonson-play without altering its whole tone and re-writing nearly everything. Still less could he impose his style on the whole without such re-writing. Fleay did not even distantly suggest such processes by the word "abridgement"; he expressly says that the style is "*not* the style of Jonson."

Further, Fleay gave definite reasons for his hypothesis. Some of them were technical: for instance, the phenomena of name-spelling and excessive use of past participles with the "ed" pronounced—the last a sufficiently weak point. Some consisted in notation of idioms not found elsewhere in Shakespeare but found in Jonson. But the most important were these:—

1. "The number of short lines in this play, *where no pause is required*, is very great, and seems to point to the fact that it has been greatly abridged for the purpose of representation." *E.g.*, I, i, 48, 53, 67; Casca's speech, I, iii, 57; Brutus's, II, i, 60; Decius's, II, i, 202.

2. The familiar quotation (v, v, 73):—

His life was gentle, and the elements
So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, this is a man,

is noticeably paralleled by a sentence in CYNTHIA'S REVELS (II, iii), which was acted in 1600:—

A creature of a most perfect and divine temper; one in whom the humours and elements are peaceably met without emulation of precedencey.

(The end of the sentence: "in all so composed and ordered, as it is clear Nature went about some full work, she did more than make a man when she made him," is equally to the point; and the whole passage was cited

¹ This view had been suggested by Warburton.

by Malone. Neither, however, noted the further point that in *SEJANUS* (I, i, 155) Jonson again uses the figure :—

Every virtue
Which, parted unto others, gave them name
Flowed *mixed* in him.)

3. Jonson, as is well known, in his posthumous *DISCOVERIES* pedantically derided Shakespeare for having made a personage in a play say, "Cæsar, thou dost me wrong," and Cæsar reply: "Cæsar did never wrong but with just cause." This obviously refers to the passage in *JULIUS CÆSAR* which *now* stands :—

Know, Cæsar doth not wrong, nor without cause
Will he be satisfied.

Jonson speaks of Shakespeare as falling "many times" into such absurdities, as he reckoned them. Fleay observes that "we cannot now find these in Shakespeare's works," and infers that Jonson may not only have altered the passage under notice but made "other similar corrections."

4. The name Anthony figures in seven other plays of Shakespeare, and there it is always spelt with the *h*, as, notably, in *ANTHONIE AND CLEOPATRA*. Here alone the name is spelt Antony, as was the wont of Ben Jonson. The fact that in the Folio it is sometimes spelt Antonio is a complication, but does not seriously affect the argument.

5. The phrase "bear me hard" occurs thrice in this play (I, ii, 317; II, i, 215; III, i, 157) and nowhere else in Shakespeare. But it occurs in Jonson's *CATILINE* (IV, v).¹

6. "There is a strange feeling about the general style of this play, which is *not the style of Jonson*, but just what one would fancy Shakespeare would become with an infusion of Jonson."

¹ Previously noted by Prof. Hales.

The last proposition is certainly elusive, to say the least; and it quite fails to cover the stylistic phenomena of the play. But it at least points to their highly heterogeneous character, and if there are readers of Shakespeare who hold that they have a "right to demand" better reasons than these before they will consent even to consider such a hypothesis as Fleay advanced, I am not concerned to appeal to them. If any one should, after examination, absolutely deny that "there is a strange feeling about the general style of this play," considered as a production of 1599 or 1600, or even later, it is obviously idle to debate the point with him. For myself, I can but say, to begin with, that I had the "strange feeling" before I read Fleay's Manual; and that, in particular, I cannot remember a time during forty years in which I could feel sure that in Mark Antony's oration I was reading Shakespeare's verse. Here I probably outgo Fleay. But Fleay gave some seventeen arguments, and most of them were well worth weighing. Wright did not examine one, though it specially concerned him to deal with the argument from the parallel passage in CYNTHIA'S REVELS, seeing that in his opinion JULIUS CÆSAR was brought out subsequently to 1600.¹ In his note to the passage in our play, v, v, 73, where he quotes the Jonson passage in full, he writes: "CYNTHIA'S REVELS was acted in 1600, and printed in 1601. The question of the bearing of this fact upon the date of our play will be discussed in the Preface." Now, this question is never discussed in the Preface at all.² What is discussed there is the question of the bearing of another notable passage in Drayton's BARON'S WARS. The passage in CYNTHIA'S REVELS is not even mentioned.

¹ Introd. cited, p. viii.

² My copy is dated 1886. Ten years then had elapsed without recognition by Dr. Wright of his oversight. Whether it was ever brought to his attention I know not.

Concerning the Drayton passage, Wright claims that in his note to v, v, 73-75, "reasons are given why too much weight should not be attached to this apparent resemblance between the passages in Shakespeare and Drayton." It ought to be unnecessary to point out that no reasons need ever be given why too much weight should not be attached to anything; but it is very necessary to say that the passage cited in his support by Wright from Grant White has no importance whatever. White argues that the *notion* that man is "composed of the four elements" was common, and was "worked up in all manner of forms." As well tell us that it was common to call man "clay." The question is whether the specific *phraseology* under notice tells of any literary connection;¹ and Messrs. Wright and White's dismissal of the Drayton parallel, indicating as it does that they would similarly dismiss the Jonson parallel if they had remembered to do so, is itself to be dismissed as an evasion of a literary problem. Wright rendered many and solid services to Shakespeare scholarship; but it is clear that his mere authority ought not to stand in the way of a full and fair hearing of the case for Fleay's hypothesis.

Mr. Macmillan's entire disregard of it is regrettable on many grounds. An editor indeed may fairly argue, in many cases, that it is no part of his task to deal with hypotheses which impugn the authorship of a work ostensibly well vouched for. But the plays of Shakespeare are in so many cases admittedly composite, and so many Arden editors have recognised this, that the challenge to JULIUS CÆSAR might well have been examined by the Arden editor like another, and, if rejected, dismissed with reasons. A number of beliefs concerning Shakespeare are involved. Mr. Macmillan, for instance, confidently pronounces that "JULIUS

¹ This point is put by Prof. McCallum, *Shakespeare's Roman Plays*, p. 169.

CÆSAR, CORIOLANUS, and the Second Part of HENRY IV make it perfectly plain that Shakespeare heartily despised the multitude."¹ Seeing that in a note on Casca's narration in Act I, scene ii, he observes that "here, and in the similar passages in CORIOLANUS, we seem to see the contempt felt *by the perfumed Elizabethan gallants* for the 'great unwashed'," the proposition is ill-grounded at best. Not merely the "perfumed gallants" but the nobles in general would be apt so to speak, and might dramatically be so presented, as is Coriolanus, who was no "perfumed gallant." But when we collate Casca's phrase, "uttered such a deal of stinking breath," with Jonson's "mist of clients' breath" in SEJANUS (v, x), there rises the question whether, in the light of Fleay's hypothesis, we may not venture to doubt Shakespeare's authorship at the point. When Mr. Macmillan further decides that "If we want a direct expression of Shakespeare's opinion of the character of the many we find it in the Induction to the Second Part of Henry IV, where Rumour speaks of

The blunt monster with uncounted heads,
The still uncertain wavering multitude,"

we are moved to remind him, first, that the prologues to TROILUS AND CRESSIDA and PERICLES have been given up as non-Shakespearean even by conservative editors, and to urge that it might fitly be considered whether the prologues to 2 HENRY IV and HENRY V, which seem akin in style to that of TROILUS, are really Shakespeare's. If all or most of Shakespeare's plays had prologues, we might perhaps argue that he was as likely to do one as another, waiving the question of style. But when we note that the prologue to TROILUS has been by some assigned to Chapman, and that Chapman

¹ Introd. to *Julius Cæsar*, Arden ed., pp. xlv.-xlvi. The same proposition was put by Andrew Lang, *Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, 1912, p. 230.

has at least four times over¹ used in some form the standing tag about the "many-headed beast," we are moved to closer enquiry. Two of the Chapman passages run :—

The monstrous beast, the ravenous multitude.

Andromeda Liberata: Poems, ed. Shepherd, p. 186.

Nor make I any noble, whose mere shadows herein the vulgar perhaps may imitate, any thought the more mixed with the gross substance of the vulgar; but present the vulgar only in their unsevered herd, as ever in ancient tradition of all authentical authors they have been resembled; to whom they were never beholden for any fairer titles than *the base, ignoble, barbarous, giddy multitude, the monster with many heads*.

Justification of "Perseus and Andromeda," p. 195a.

The similarities of the wording challenge attention. It is to be noted that Chapman, like Jonson, was a Pompeian, an anti-Cæsarean. In *THE REVENGE OF BUSSY D'AMBOIS* (II, i) he makes Baligny exclaim to Guise concerning Brutus:

Conspirator, my lord? Doth that impair him?

Cæsar began to tyrannize; and when virtue

Nor the religion of the gods could serve

To curb the insolence of his proud laws,

Brutus would be the gods' just instrument.

When further I note the prose manner of Casca's narrative, and compare it with the prose in Act II, scene i, and Act v, scene i, of Chapman's *TRAGEDY OF CÆSAR AND POMPEY*, I should have no great difficulty in imagining that Chapman wrote the Casca matter, provided that I could find other reasons for supposing him to have had a hand in the play. But Drayton, like most poets of the period, has many flings at the "monstrous multitude" and its "unconstant" moods. Jonson also writes of "my monster, the multitude," putting the words in the mouth of a Roman noble in

¹ *Monsieur D'Olive*, IV, ii, 55; *Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*, I, ii; and the two pieces cited in the text. It also occurs in two plays wrongly ascribed to him, *Alphonsus Emperor of Germany*, and *Revenge for Honour*.

SEJANUS (v, x); and in the same scene he makes another patrician speak of

The eager [*i.e.*, fierce] multitude, who never yet
Knew why to love or hate, but only pleased
T'express their rage of power
And not a beast of all the herd demands
What was his [Sejanus'] crime, or who were his accusers;

while the mob are graphically presented in as brutal an aspect as ever was put upon them, being made to rend the corpse of Sejanus even as they rend the poet Cinna in our play. Thus Drayton's and Jonson's tone and phrase are substantially those of Chapman; and if there be reason to assign to any or all of them a hand in JULIUS CÆSAR, it behoves us to consider whether the very common sentiments which we are asked to ascribe to Shakespeare may not be of their penning. Nay, we must ask whether they may not be pre-Shakespearean? Marlowe is as contemptuous of the multitude as any of his successors¹: the note is in fact universal in the literature of the age, and may have been struck in an earlier form of the play.

Obviously we are not entitled to raise such an issue merely on the score that we do not like to believe Shakespeare the writer of any passages in a Shakespeare play. There must be compelling reasons in manner as well as matter to justify the challenge. But such reasons there are, in abundance, as regards much of JULIUS CÆSAR; and where questionable matter is involved we are all the more interested in testing Mr. Macmillan's verdict. It may be indeed that seeing most of the writers of the Elizabethan age propound the sentiments under notice², Shakespeare shared them.

¹ The "monster of five-hundred thousand heads" in 1 *Tamb.*, iv, iii, 7, is an army, not the multitude; but Marlowe has many flings at the populace elsewhere.

² The "many-headed monster" tag is found in various forms in dozens of Tudor writers. Dekker has "that wild-beast multitude," and parallels *Julius Cæsar* and *Sejanus* with "the rank multitude, whose thickened breath, Like to condensed fogs," both in *Old Fortunatus* (1600). In the *Troublesome Raigne of King John* (1591) we have "the multitude, a beast of many heads";

But it is not exactly Shakespeare's way to chime repeatedly with all the conventions of his time. Though in *CORIOLANUS* he puts the tag with *dramatic* propriety in the mouth of the hero, it is pretty clear that he is not a strong Coriolanian, seeing that he leaves out much of the case against the tribunes and the people as given in Plutarch; and in any case it is worth while to take some trouble to make sure about his work before we come to our conclusions.

III.—QUALITY OF THE PLAY

It may not be amiss, at this point, to face the question as to the general dramatic and poetic merits of *JULIUS CÆSAR*. Questions of dramatic success will frequently face us in our enquiry; and it will be useful to prepare for them. There is involved, too, the recurring crux of the disunity of the handling, which is one of the great blemishes of the play. Two centuries ago, critics were dissatisfied with it as a tragedy of Cæsar. But Archbishop Trench, with the hearty assent of Aldis Wright, pronounced it "a play dramatically and poetically standing so high that it only just falls short of that supreme rank which *LEAR* and *OTHELLO*, *HAMLET* and *MACBETH* claim for themselves, without rival or competitor even from among the creations of the same poet's brain."

I do not hesitate to pronounce this an untenable judgment. There is not in *JULIUS CÆSAR* a moiety of the flaming power of *CORIOLANUS*, or a tithe of the wealth of portraiture flung into *ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA*. And these plays are rounded dramatic wholes, tragically satisfying to the sense of artistic purpose.

Daniel has "the many-headed monster multitude" in his *Civil Wars* (1595), ii, 12; and Drayton, as aforesaid, has flings at "the rascal multitude," "the monster multitude," "the brainless vulgar," and so on. Cp. *The Shakespeare Symphony*, by Harold Bayley, 1906, pp. 158-163.

JULIUS CÆSAR is assuredly not thus satisfying; and so judicial a critic as Professor Ward has pronounced that "The JULIUS CÆSAR of Shakespeare, which had preceded SEJANUS, is weak where the latter is strong." Many commentators, from Gildon (unnoticed by Mr. Macmillan), who influenced Voltaire, to Dr. Immanuel Schmidt, have put the view that Brutus is the real hero of the piece; and Mr. Macmillan combats it only by arguments which end in the avowal that the play is "without a hero." In other words, it is quite inadequate to its title.

A German critic has proposed to see the hero or hero-villain of the piece in Cassius, founding on the lines (I, ii, 318-19):

If I were Brutus now, and he were Cassius,
He should not humour me.

What is justly to be inferred from the speech in which these lines occur is that at one stage and point of the composition of the play Cassius was presented unsympathetically, as a sinister and furtive person,¹ whose plot against Cæsar is to be furthered by "seducing" Brutus from the "noble" disposition of his "honourable metal." If the cited passage carries any clear meaning, it is this: that if Cassius had been on personally friendly terms with Cæsar he would never have let himself be swayed to hostility as he himself was now seeking to sway Brutus.² But this presentment

¹ *Hist. of Eng. Dram. Lit.*, 2nd ed., ii, 337.

² Compare the passages in Greene's *Orlando* and *Friar Bacon*, cited below, p. 109. It is noteworthy that Cassius is presented as a dissembler also in the academic *Cæsar's Revenge* (ll. 1669-70: Malone Soc. rep.) discussed hereinafter.

³ This interpretation, put by Warburton, and accepted by Craik, Wright, and Verity (Dyce and White are silent), is rejected on a priori grounds by Mr. Macmillan, following Johnson. But Johnson's interpretation of "He should not *humour* me" as = "Cæsar should not turn me from my principles" is a violation of the text, and to insist on it is to ignore the significance of the line: "Who so firm that cannot be seduced?" and what goes before. It is quite true that Cassius, as Mr. Macmillan claims, is not elsewhere in the play represented as thus cynical and sinister. But the question is, What is he *in this passage*? Mr. Macmillan does not contemplate the possibility of different hands with different purposes.

of Cassius is incongruous alike with the previous exposition and with the sequel; and whatever may have been the design of the writer of Cassius' soliloquy, the play as a whole does nothing to bear out a conception of him as either the hero or hero-villain. The thesis does but force into greater clearness the lack of any unifying conception in the drama. The presentment of a cynical Cassius is either part of the manipulation in which one contributor represented Brutus as shuddering at "conspiracy" while engaging in it, or part of an early form of the play. It is certainly not part of the finally predominating purpose of vindicating the conspirators; and it yields no possible notion of Cassius as "hero-villain of the piece" as it stands.

That solution being in every way futile, we remain faced by an essentially unsatisfactory play. Cæsar makes but four appearances in his tragedy; first, for two minutes, in the second scene; a second time, for two minutes, in the same scene; a third time, in the second Act, for ten minutes, to exhibit arrogance and vacillation; and then, on the fourth, to be assassinated. In an edition in which the play fills sixty-one pages, forty-one of them given to the first three Acts, he appears only in seven. Such an allotment of space answers neither to any fit conception of plan nor to Shakespeare's practice. As to the management of time, it may be argued that the play does conform to his practice, for instance, in *OTHELLO* and *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*. The action, here, as there, is impossibly compressed. In the second scene, Brutus promises to "consider" what Cassius has said to him; at the close of the same scene Cassius says he will "this night" cause writings to be thrown in at Brutus' windows; in the next, Cicero asks Casca, "Brought you Cæsar home?" and Casca in the same scene remarks to Cassius that "they say" the senators mean to make Cæsar king

to-morrow, though he has told earlier in the day how the people obviously disliked the idea of the kingship when the crown was offered in public. Act II carries on the same day's action; yet Brutus, after reading the "writings," says :

Since Cassius first did whet me against Cæsar
I have not slept.

Where there has been but twelve hours lapse of time, a lapse of days is suggested. The plot is then consummated, and Cæsar is assassinated *on the day after the opening of the play.*

Such phenomena in the other plays have been accounted for by De Quincey's formula of the "two clocks"; and we must either fall back on some such conception or raise the question whether (*a*) in *OTHELLO*, *MEASURE FOR MEASURE* and *JULIUS CÆSAR* alike there has taken place a compression by Shakespeare (or another) of the time process of plays drafted by others; or whether (*b*) a pre-Shakespearean basal play thus cancelled time, as so many of Marlowe's plays do. On any view, he must have been strongly influenced in his middle period by the doctrine of "unity of time" which he is often supposed to have disregarded as did his English contemporaries; and, having recognised this, we cannot argue against his origination of any play on the mere ground of the impossible huddling of the action. Still, the uncalculating compression here is obviously compatible with the theory of a condensation; while the unfit brevity of the presentment of the titular character suggests both that and an alien intervention.

IV.—CRITICAL CENSURES

From the uncritical acclamation of the play as a whole there have been notable dissentients. Dr. Johnson

was not the subtlest of psychologists; but there is some solid critical sense in his pronouncement:—

Of this tragedy many particular passages deserve regard, and the contention and reconciliation of Brutus and Cassius is universally celebrated; but I have never been strongly agitated in perusing it, and think it somewhat cold and unaffecting, compared with some other of Shakespeare's plays: his adherence to the real story, and to Roman manners, seems to have impeded the natural vigour of his genius—

—though the charge of undue adherence to the “real story” would be hard to substantiate.

The first reason for such comparative apathy as Johnson avowed is the disconcerting presentment of the central character. It is not Plutarch's Cæsar, puissant and wise, that is here thrust upon us, but a picture that is in large measure a denigration, the work, at least in part, of a hostile artist—hostile as were both Jonson and Chapman. And the hostility is in no way¹ traceable to Plutarch. Georg Brandes, noting the fact, finds the portrait “a miserable caricature.” Mr. Macmillan pronounces it “rather one-sided or inadequate than untrue,” but also “at first sight extremely disappointing.” Cæsar is in fact portrayed as vain, weak, boastful, and vacillating; and we are really not entitled to say with Mr. Macmillan that “every one of the defects attributed to Julius Cæsar by Shakespeare is mentioned or implied by Plutarch.” For the stories told against him by Cassius in the second scene there is not a shadow of historical foundation: they are inventions to disparage him, and their dramatic effect is gratuitously to lower him in the listeners' esteem. It is true that some of the records concur in picturing him in his last years as at once inordinately arrogant and signally superstitious; but there is no historical warrant for such a parade of vacillating and pompous weakness as is given

¹ This is noted by Mr. H. H. Furness, jr., Var. Ed. pref. p. viii.

² *William Shakespeare*, Eng. tr., i, 362.

us in Act II, scene ii; and, to say nothing of the reasonable historic doubts concerning the records, it was not the business of a good dramatist presenting the tragedy of Cæsar to exhibit him in a state of mere mental decay unless (1) the play were one of a sequence in which he had been seen in his strength, or (2) the playwright expressly aimed at belittling him. And that is no worthy part for a great dramatist to play; one might say, it is not a Shakespearean undertaking. All such criticism is flouted by Professor Schücking¹ as "anachronistic," an expression which seems to imply that Shakespeare *could not* have handled Cæsar much otherwise than he did, having regard to the cultural tradition. The sufficient rejoinder is that the term "anachronistic" implies a failure to realise Shakespeare's power as shown elsewhere, and that its use is a mere evasion of the critical problem, as we shall see further in detail.

True, as Mr. Macmillan fairly claims, we cannot say that Cæsar is *merely* belittled in the play, though he is at times violently and extravagantly disparaged, not only by his enemy Cassius but in the dramatist's presentment. But what is the purpose or effect of such an isolated touch of superiority as the answer to Artemidorus (III, i, 8):

What touches us ourself shall be last serv'd,
as against all the other hostile strokes? And what is the precise purpose, or effect, of Antony's panegyric of the dead Cæsar as

The ruin of the noblest man
That ever livèd in the tide of times,
after the gratuitous demonstration to the contrary by Cassius? Is it merely to present two partisan views and leave us to take our choice, after having seen Cæsar

¹ *Die Charakterprobleme bei Shakespeare*, 1919, p. 36. Prof. Schücking seems to confute himself on p. 32.

in boastful dotage? There is certainly no *à priori* bar to our believing that even Shakespeare could not make up his mind, even dramatically, as to how Cæsar should be regarded; but he who has realised the amazing power with which the later Shakespeare grasps alternately Antony and Coriolanus should be loth, on reflection, to believe that the master could substantially fail, after writing the First Part of HENRY IV, with him whom he marked elsewhere as "the mightiest Julius." And the natural surmise, at least for any one who has recognised the composite character of a number of the Shakespeare plays, and noted the records as to Elizabethan plays on Cæsar, and considerately weighed Fleay's hypothesis, is that the disunity and perplexingness of this tragedy, to say nothing here of the "strange feeling about the style," is due to the operation of various hands; and that we are reading, at times, alien work only partly rewritten by Shakespeare, or, it may be, Shakespeare curtailed and interpolated by another. It is not a Shakespeare play; it is not a Jonson play; it is not a Chapman play. May it not be a mosaic in which all three, or yet others, have had a share?

V.—FLAWS OF CONSTRUCTION

The question recurs when we study Brutus and Cassius and Portia. As regards these and most of the other characters the play broadly follows Plutarch, that delightful "prose Shakespeare" who presents history so kaleidoscopically. But in the great Roman plays Shakespeare compels Plutarch to coherence; in this play there is no such outcome. What, for instance, is the dramatic significance of that famous quarrel scene between Brutus and Cassius? Plutarch tells that they quarrelled and wept; but why should they quarrel *thus*? In the first

Act, while there is reference to former "love," there is no sign of fraternal intimacy; and there is, as we have noted, a sinister disclosure of a cynical attitude on the part of Cassius. In the quarrel scene they are suddenly transformed to old friends, and Cassius from a cynic to an Elizabethan sentimentalist. In the story, the intervening "philosopher" really stops the quarrel by his make-believe of fooling; in the play the quarrel is over before the entrance of the "poet," and that becomes dramatically nugatory and unfit. But even so is the quarrel. Mr. Macmillan will have it that "Cassius is *evidently intended* to bring out the main features of the character of Brutus more distinctly *by contrast*," adding that "this contrast is clearly marked by Plutarch," who tells that Brutus could not tolerate the tyranny, while Cassius hated the tyrant. This holds quite true as regards the earlier part of the play; but in the later part Brutus first strongly suspects his comrade of forsaking him, and actually expresses his distrust to an attendant; then rates him with extreme bitterness and malice, saying things which, if true, should end their alliance, and if false are unpardonable; then, growing more furious, calls him "slight man," and tells him:

From this day forth
I'll use you for my mirth, yea, for my laughter,
When you are waspish.

Antony might quarrel so with Octavius; but here we have a Brutus, hitherto "unshaked of motion," as disrupt as the staged Cæsar, and scolding like a servitor. Dryden or any one else may talk of this as seeing "god-like Romans rage": the thing cannot be so carried off. Coleridge, pronouncing the scene superhuman, is merely declamatory. The scene is in part both undignified and unworthy; and it is mainly the reconciliation that men have in mind when they praise it. Again we ask, have not more hands than one been at work?

'And here we come to a textual crux which brings the problem to a head. After the closed quarrel is followed by the useless entrance of the "poet," with others, and on their exit friendship has been re-pledged in wine, Brutus reveals that "Portia is dead," making Cassius cry, "How scap'd I killing when I crossed you so"; and Brutus further curtly describes her suicide. Then enters Titinius with Messala, and upon the latter asking Brutus whether he has had letters from or concerning his wife, the answer is, "Nothing, Messala"; whereafter, upon Brutus' urgent appeal, the news is re-told. What is the meaning of such management? Some editors suggest explanations in Brutus' psychic state—a hoping against hope, a shrinking from further discussion; but such surmises ignore the fact that the scene is written for the stage, and that the audience, having witnessed both scenes, would be merely bewildered. Mr. Macmillan offers instead the eminently judicious surmise¹ that one scene was meant to supersede the other; that Brutus' account to Cassius was written as an alternative to Messala's message; and that the latter was left standing by oversight.

Here we pass at once to solid critical ground. We need not indeed conclude with Mr. Macmillan that Shakespeare first wrote the Messala scene to exhibit the stoicism of Brutus, and later felt that such an exhibition was "inconsistent with the gentleness previously ascribed to him." There had been small gentleness in the earlier part of the wrangle with Cassius. What is clear is that one scene ought to cancel the other, and that that was the intention;² and such a proceeding might be motived in either of two ways. Either the reviser was simply aiming at abridgment, and meant to save time

¹ Previously put by Resch (1882) and (independently) by Kannengiesser (*Sh. Jahrbuch*, vol. 44). See Furness's var. ed. of the play, pp. 223-5.

² Prof. McCallum, however, seems to have no suspicion of such a procedure (*Roman Plays*, p. 242).

by dropping the Messala interlude, or he realised that the quarrel scene could be greatly improved by giving a reason for the strange violence of Brutus, hitherto so imperturbable.¹ As there would be a certain gain from the change, we are fairly entitled to adopt that explanation. The fact, too, that as the text stands Brutus calls for wine immediately upon the exit of the poet with Lucilius and Titinius, then tells the story of Portia's death, and then again calls for wine, argues an interpolation at this point. If we pass from the "bowl of wine" in line 142 to line 159: "In this I bury all unkindness, Cassius," we have, to all appearance, the original sequence.²

The fact that "most commentators have overlooked the difficulty," and that Mr. Macmillan and his anticipators alone have offered a good solution, might not unfairly be counted to the credit of his assumption that Shakespeare penned both the original and the interpolated scenes; but the critical reader will consent not to beg the question. Mr. Macmillan has not completely faced the problem. How came the superseded dialogue with Messala to be left standing? To leave it standing purposely was to plan to exhibit Brutus as a fraudulent *poseur*; and such a conception seems quite inadmissible, though the quarrel scene itself is in a sense a stripping away of his stoic prestige. The most natural surmise, one is bound to admit, would be that the reviser hesitated as to getting rid of Messala altogether for the rest of the scene, or making him simply tell, to little purpose, that he has "letters of the self-same tenour" with those described by Brutus, who to no better purpose tells that their statistics of the prescription do not agree—another trace of variety of design in the composition. What we seem to have before us, in short, is an

¹ Though Portia had described him as behaving impatiently towards her.

² This view is put by Mr. Macmillan.

interrupted revision of the quarrel scene; and the original handling, at least, is surely not Shakespearean.

A similar phenomenon in *TIMON OF ATHENS* raises the question whether, while the main MS. was left without final correction, the necessary adjustments were made in the separate actors' parts; for it is hardly credible that the play was repeatedly performed in Shakespeare's time with the story of Portia's death contradictorily re-told as we have it. In *TIMON* the ultimate inference is that Shakespeare was revising another man's work; and here the inference is roughly the same. That is to say, we do not clearly find Ben Jonson (say) revising Shakespeare, but, apparently, Shakespeare revising someone else; and we cannot bar the hypothesis that there were two stages in the revision, a first in which Shakespeare re-touched the quarrel scene; and a second in which he strengthened that scene by making Brutus already know of Portia's death, which in the original play he learns only afterwards. But the Fleay hypothesis is not excluded, the grounds for it being so far unremoved: indeed, we cannot be sure that the alteration which supersedes Messala's message by making Brutus already informed was not Jonson's. On the other hand, the irruption of the peace-making poet is pointless as the piece stands, since the quarrel is already ended; and it is arguable that that episode had been introduced with a plan of eliding the mention of Portia's death at this point, and leaving Messala to tell the story as he does. No solution yields a satisfying scene. It is not really to Brutus' credit that the news of his wife's death should harden his heart against his friend, any more than that he should quarrel as he does on the merits of the case. What we are led to, thus far, is a backward extension of hypothesis by way of putting another draftsman or draftsmen before Shakespeare, leaving a Jonsonian abridgment still an open question.

VI.—THE CHARACTER OF PORTIA

The infelicity of construction thus revealed is further exhibited in the handling of Portia, of whom a great dramatist might be expected to make something more coherent than the woman of Plutarch's narrative, unless he saw fit to reproduce a mere record of human incoherence for its own sake. At her first appearance Portia doth protest too much, as in Plutarch; and has actually given herself a wound to prove her fortitude. The ensuing fever mentioned by Plutarch, however, is not specified. At the next, she avows her inability to live up to her ideal, being distracted by the strain of suspense. She is in fact exhibited, in II, iv, as a hysterical nuisance, a danger to her friends. Finally we are told that she has committed suicide in the midst of her husband's time of supreme trial, after all her urgent demands to be allowed to be his helper. Here, it may be argued, we have a reproduction of life, a portrait of an unbalanced woman of heroic ideals, a holding-up of the mirror to Nature. But great drama is not a mere stringing together of recorded events: it is a weaving or welding of them into a sequence of causation; and Portia plays no part in the causation of our play, unless it be to make her death explain, by a stroke of revision, the anger of Brutus towards Cassius. If she is Shakespeare's work, it is for him quite immature, unless we are to infer that a process of revision has disintegrated the performance.

And that, indeed, is the inference suggested (without, however, any encouragement to us to infer the hand of Shakespeare) by one Portia scene in particular, that (II, iv) in which she hysterically hovers on the road to the Capitol, giving distracted instructions to her page. The preceding scene is the uniquely short one in which Artemidorus, after reading to himself his message of warning, intended for Cæsar, speaks the six stiff lines

beginning, "Here will I stand till Cæsar pass along." Then we have "*Exit*"! Evidently the absurd exit is imposed to make way for the Portia scene, oddly laid by modern editors¹ in "another part of the same street," wherein Portia excitedly talks to her page. In that scene "*Enter the Soothsayer*," whom she addresses, and who replies: "I go to take my stand to see him [Cæsar] pass on to the Capitol," proceeding to take his leave because "Here the street is narrow . . . I'll get me to a place more void than this." Yet Act III begins with a scene (placed by modern editors "Before the Capitol: the Senate sitting above") in which, by implication amidst a crowd, there enter Cæsar, the named conspirators, and "Artemidorus and the Soothsayer." The latter has come in the thickest of the crowd which he said he was going to avoid. That proposal, then, was part of the machinery to get *him* out of the way, after Artemidorus, and leave Portia on the scene, palpitating. In a word, the Portia scene is an interpolation.

Now, the lines of Artemidorus are clearly not by the Shakespeare of 1599: are Portia's his, either? And if so, why did he pen them? This episode diverges from Plutarch's narrative, which tells only of her hysteria at home; her distracted speeches in no way advance the action: they clog it; and they are technically defensible only as possibly helping to set up the thrill of suspense before the deed to come. But they are much less effectual to that end than to the exhibition of Portia as a failure, going far to betray her husband's cause by her agitation, after all her heroics. If the play was undergoing curtailment, here was a scene that could easily be sacrificed; yet it is wilfully forced into one which it dislocates. We are almost forced to conclude that the *purpose* was to disparage Portia as a woman

¹ In the Folio there is no indication of a new scene.

meddling impotently in politics—as she is in effect represented in Plutarch. And here, at least, the person most readily to be suspected is Jonson, who indicates that contemptuous attitude towards women-politicians in at least three plays—*VOLPONE*, *SEJANUS* and *CATILINE*. Chapman's bias is the other way.¹ Shakespeare elsewhere shows none, and this verse is not like him.

VII.—PRIMITIVE ELEMENTS

For the rest, there is no clear principle at work in the revision, unless it be that of securing such isolated effects. As the matter stands, the whole movement of the play after the death of Cæsar is a reversion to the primitive methods of the "Chronicle history" play, of which Marlowe alone was able, in his masterful rough-hewing fashion, to make a rudely simple unity, by a resolute sacrifice alike of chronology and of historic detail. So much he admittedly achieved in *EDWARD II*, and so much, some of us think, he achieved with a difference in *RICHARD III*, where the murderous energy of the central character fills the stage to the close. And as Shakespeare did not attain such unity in *KING JOHN*, where he followed an old model, it may still be argued that he could be the draftsman of *JULIUS CÆSAR* as it stands, years after the writing of *JOHN*.

But can it with any plausibility be argued that as late as 1599—the date which Mr. Macmillan justifiably, on his assumptions, assigns to our play—Shakespeare could still be so much in the grasp of the chronicle-history as to draft the wrangling scenes of Act v, between the pairs of opposing leaders? Those scenes belong wholly to the primitive method of dramatising battle seen in the chronicle plays and in *TAMBURLAINE*, where the antagonists commonly appear to wage a windy war of

¹ Compare *The Gentleman Usher*, etc., as cited hereinafter.

words on the stage and then walk off to conduct *the* battle immediately elsewhere, returning from time to time in "excursions." The old procedure is vastly improved upon in CORIOLANUS; but in JULIUS CÆSAR it is employed at its worst, as in effect is admitted by Mr. Macmillan. And here it is quite inadequate to suggest that there has been any weakening by abridgment. The blemishes are sins not of omission but of commission; and it is no more admissible to suspect Jonson of them than to ascribe them to Shakespeare. Belonging as they do to the order of hackwork—or, let us say, stagecraft of a primitive kind—the first hundred lines of the fifth Act effectually raise the question whether we have not here the mere débris of a pre-Shakespearean play. And the same question is raised by the rants of Brutus and Cassius immediately after the assassination (III, i, 101-121), which strike so false a note of sentimental retrospection. They seem to me simply impossible for Shakespeare; hardly possible for Jonson; perhaps possible for the more unequal Chapman, or for Drayton, who has left us no proof of dramatic power in serious verse in SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE; but in spirit rather worthy of Peele, and in manner of his school. Yet there is a consideration which might lead us to date them about 1599 or later. In Daniel's MUSOPHILUS, published in that year, there occur (near the end) these lines:—

And who (in Time) knows whither we may vent
The treasure of our tongue? To what strange shores
This gain of our best glory may be sent,
T'enrich unknowing nations with our stores?
What worlds in the yet unformed Occident
May come refin'd with accents that are ours?

The coincidence of phrase and sentiment with those of Cassius' speech:—

How many ages hence
Shall this our lofty scene be acted over
In States unborn and *accents yet unknown?*

and with the similar sentiment in the speech of Henry V on the day of Crispin Crispian, does suggest an echoing of Daniel, though it may be that Daniel is echoing our play.

To solve such problems, the first step must be to examine the stage record of the CÆSAR plays of that age, and weigh the probabilities. This is, to say the least, a more hopeful course than that of resigning ourselves to the view of Dr. Brandes, that the greatest of modern dramatists somehow failed dismally, in an effort made in his maturity, to realise and present the greatest man of action in the ancient world, though he had Plutarch's presentment before him. Many times, in pondering Shakespeare problems, we shall find cause, as we have found in HAMLET, to question whether features that perplex and disappoint us are really features of Shakespeare's original art at all. The tracking of the process of growth is much duller work than the eloquent expatiation of accomplished men of letters on the anomalous results, but it may perhaps clear the way for expatiation of a more satisfying kind.

Of late years, happily, the researches of British and American critics into the pre-Shakespearean handling of the theme of Cæsar by French and Italian dramatists have stirred a fresh current of inquiry. The scholarly research of Mr. Harry Morgan Ayres¹ into the shaping of a Cæsar figure on Senecan lines by Muret, Grévin and Garnier has been followed by the able and exhaustive attempt of Dr. Alexander Boecker² to trace in our play the influence of the 1594 *CESARE* of Orlando Pescetti. Critically considered, however, these studies will be found to raise anew the problem of pre-Shakespearean

¹ *Public. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America*, vol. xxv (1910). See also the contemporaneous research of Prof. M. W. McCallum, in introduction to his *Shakespeare's Roman Plays*, 1910.

² *A Probable Italian Source of Shakespeare's "Julius Cæsar."* New York, 1913.

work on Cæsar on the Elizabethan stage. The American scholars, like those of Europe, had not recognised that the latter problem exists, apparently assuming, as was so commonly done last century, that Shakespeare examined all his supposed French and Italian sources or predecessors for himself. Professor L. L. Schücking even seems to assume that the Latin and French dramas of the sixteenth century had set up such a general conception of a self-deifying Cæsar that people would have been put out by any other.¹ But these *à priori* assumptions, which would leave the central insufficiency of our play the more flagrant and the more disappointing, are less and less acceptable as we realise to what an extent Shakespeare's dramaturgy is a re-casting of previously current stage material. Transmutation was his supreme function: why is it so inadequately exercised here? It is when connected with the home side of the problem that the research into French and Italian precedents becomes most illuminating; and to realise its importance it is well to approach our own stage history first.

VIII.—COMPILATION AND COMPRESSION

In Henslowe's Diary, the prime document for the history of Elizabethan drama, we find mention of a CÆSAR AND POMPEY which ran during 1594 and 1595, being played by the Admiral's men eight times in all. Of this play there is no further mention: it was either dropped entirely or acquired by another company. In June, 1595, before the last performance, there emerges a "Second Part of CÆSAR," which is played twice and then disappears. Neither play is marked by Henslowe as "ne"—his mark for a play that is either new or

¹ *Die Charakterprobleme bei Shakespeare*, pp. 42-47.

"freshened up." The next record is of two payments in 1602; the first to Drayton, Munday, Webster, "and the rest" (Middleton's name being interlined), the second to Dekker, Drayton, Middleton, Munday, and Webster, for a play which is alternatively named "CÆSAR'S FALL" and "(THE) TWO SHAPES." The five received for their work, in all, £8; and of this play there is no further trace. Of the old HISTORY OF CÆSAR AND POMPEY, mentioned by Gosson in 1579, there is no subsequent mention. But there has been preserved an academic play, THE TRAGEDIE OF CÆSAR AND POMPEY, OR CÆSAR'S REVENGE, entered in the Stationer's Register on June 5, 1606, as JULIUS CÆSAR'S REVENGE.² Finally, we have the Earl of Stirling's rhymed JULIUS CÆSAR, founded on Plutarch and the French Cæsar-plays, in 1607.

It is next to be noted that the contemporary references which point to the existence of our play, in some form, in 1599 or 1600, make no mention of Shakespeare's name. First we have the phrase: "Reason long since is fled to animals, *you know*," in Jonson's EVERY MAN OUT OF HIS HUMOUR (III, i), produced in 1599, which must be held to point to JULIUS CÆSAR, III, ii, 109. Next we have the lines in Weever's MIRROR OF MARTYRS, referring to the speeches of Brutus and Antony over the dead Cæsar, in a fashion which beyond all doubt indicates some form of the scene in our play. And as Weever in his dedication, dated 1601, tells that his work "some two years ago was made fit for the print," we have another justification for putting part of our JULIUS CÆSAR at least as early as 1599. Wright's argument for dating it "after 1600"

¹ The assumption of Dr. Aldis Wright (Clar. Press ed. of *Julius Cæsar*, introd. p. ix) that "ne" in Henslowe *always* means new, is an error. It often means only "with new matter"; hence the surmise that it meant "new enterlude." But that will not stand either.

² Rep. by the Malone Society, 1919.

has, as Mr. Macmillan points out, no weight whatever. But the two references cited cover only the oration scene, telling nothing of the later parts of the play. The *Et tu, Brute*, in Jonson's comedy, which also is probably a stage reminiscence, also points only to the third Act.

We have now to consider the later and stronger form of Fleay's hypothesis, which is that the play we possess is Jonson's abridgment of a *double* play—a "CÆSAR'S TRAGEDY" and a "CÆSAR'S REVENGE."¹ The emendation of the hypothesis is grounded primarily on the fact that the first three Acts and the last two have no characters in common save Brutus, Cassius, Antony, and Lucius; and on the originally posited fact of the very large number of incomplete lines "in every possible position, even in the middle of speeches." Obviously the theory is strengthened in that a new and valid ground is given for surmising a process of abridgment, which otherwise was not very clearly necessary, JULIUS as it stands being one of the eight shortest plays. By Mr. E. H. C. Oliphant the fact of curtailment is put confidently, without reference to Fleay, in the remark: "That it was greatly curtailed is shown by the frequency with which characters who are on the stage are allowed to remain mute. Note particularly that the Lepidus of III, i (who is not the Lepidus of IV, i) appears only once and does not speak; that in V, iii, Strato, Volumnius and Lucilius are all mute, while two non-characters, Labeo and Flavius, are addressed instead of the two former, and that Lucius is confounded with Lucilius."²

And the hypothesis of a double play is favoured by the fact, above noted, that the old CÆSAR AND POMPEY had been followed by a Second Part, which, with the First, disappeared from the repertory of the Admiral's men after a very short run. The presumption is that

¹ *Life of Shakespeare*, 1886, p. 215; *Biog. Chron.*, 1891, ii, 185.

² Art. cited, pp. 191-2.

the First Part, like the late published play of Chapman on the same theme (which he tells us was never staged), dealt with the strife of Cæsar and Pompey; and the second with some parts of Cæsar's later career and his assassination. That it included the subsequent civil war seems unlikely, as in that case it would have been much more than a Second Part of "CÆSAR AND POMPEY." The presumption is that there was yet a third play, dealing with the struggle between the conspirators and the triumvirs, ending at Philippi. Seeing that in the academic play bearing the three titles of CÆSAR AND POMPEY, CÆSAR'S REVENGE, and THE TRAGEDY OF JULIUS CÆSAR, the action proceeds from the battle of Pharsalia to that of Philippi, we cannot indeed exclude the possibility that the second play covered the same later ground. Even an "ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA" may well have preceded Shakespeare's: that history is in a manner initiated in CÆSAR'S REVENGE. But inasmuch as the fourth and fifth Acts of our play bring on a number of entirely new characters, allowing over a dozen of the others to disappear, there is fair ground for the presumption that a third play had actually been written which could have been the basis of the Acts in question. *There is no trace of them, be it remembered, in the allusions to our play in 1599 or 1601.* But an allusion to "Cassius weary of his life" in ALPHONSUS OF GERMANY¹ hints that a play on the sequel to the assassination had also been framed by the pre-Shakespeareans, though at a later stage in the development of Marlowe.

Of course a play might have been planned with a dozen characters who appear in the first half, and are replaced by another dozen in the second. The same actors could take the new parts. But such a plan is at least without parallel among the Shakespeare plays;

¹ See below, p. 110.

and a further reason for inferring that a second play has been incorporated is the fact that we are met by new ideas as to the earlier part of the action. Brutus expressly tells Cassius (III, iii, 22) that they and their fellow conspirators

Struck the foremost man of all the world
But for supporting robbers—

an idea wholly absent, as Mr. Macmillan candidly admits, from the first three Acts, where the grievance is simply that Cæsar "would be king," though Plutarch indicates the later view. When Brutus in soliloquy (II, i) seeks for reasons why Cæsar should be slain, there is not a word or hint of his "supporting robbers." On the contrary, Brutus avows that he has "no personal cause to spurn at him," and that "the quarrel will bear no colour for the thing he is." In the fourth Act we are at a new point of view, and in point of fact, as already noted, faced by a new Brutus. The solution of a third play thus becomes more and more likely.

If we now ask, Wherein appears the abridgment, apart from the mute personages? the answer is not difficult, as regards either part of the extant play. In the first, Cæsar would naturally appear early in his character of conqueror, whereas we have only the Pompeian nobles scolding the crowd afterwards, in his absence, for having come out to welcome him in his triumph. (This is quite unhistorically indicated as following on the defeat and death of Pompey,¹ whereas it really followed on the overthrow of the Pompeians four years later). After that scene, and ostensibly on the same day, Cæsar abruptly appears at the games; and after ten crowded lines we have the Soothsayer warning him to beware of the Ides of March. We are in the thick of a plot in the second scene, before any

¹ This departure from history occurs also in *Cæsar's Revenge*—Chorus III at end of Act II.

conspiracy has been evolved, and that in a historical play for an audience which was to get its knowledge of the history *from* the play. In actual fact six months had elapsed after the triumph over the Pompeians; and in Plutarch these are filled with memorable matter, some of which was vitally relevant to the dramatic process. That this play was itself the sequel to another is already nearly certain: only as a sequel could it be fit for the boards. But even as a sequel it is excessively sudden in its action. A whole Act for the introduction of Cæsar and the hostile patricians, and another for the progressive defining of the situation, would not have been too much. In all likelihood the scene which now stands first, or one which it supersedes or re-casts, came at the end of the original first Act; and the following scene, on a much smaller scale, in the second Act. As it stands now, made up of 24 lines, it can be played, as aforesaid, in a few minutes. That Cæsar, Antony, Calpurnia, six other notable personages, and a "great crowd following them," should have been brought on in the original plan for this sudden and short appearance, is incredible. It is bad stage economy, and bad business. An audience could not possibly understand the situation of Antony running the course, as we now have it: there has been a "cut" of large dimensions. The development of the conspiracy, which would be the centre of the action of a "CÆSAR'S TRAGEDY," would probably occupy the third Act, leaving the present second and third to form the fourth and fifth, with or without the utterly unhistorical announcement of the arrival of Octavius at Rome, and the final scene (taken from Plutarch) of the rending of Cinna, the poet, which is so signally close a parallel to the account of the rending of the body of Sejanus at the close of Jonson's tragedy.

In the second part of the play there is the same felt need for expansion, the same aspect of compression or

truncation. Without any explanation or preparation we have the triumvirate at the outset of the fourth Act completing their list of victims for the proscription, a bewilderingly sudden development for an audience without detailed historical knowledge. The rest of the scene is quite leisurely, Antony and Octavius discussing Lepidus through fifty lines, so that we learn Antony's contempt for Lepidus as soon as we know he is his colleague, and with no hint as to why he is so. To the extant action, this disparagement of Lepidus is quite supererogatory. To what purpose is he thus discussed, seeing that he is never to appear again? In the first scene of the third Act the name of Lepidus (another?) has been inserted among those of the persons present, yet not a word is there spoken by him; in the second scene, in the closing episode in which the servant announces the arrival of Octavius, he is simply mentioned as being with Octavius at Cæsar's house. The natural presumption is that in the first play he had not been present at all; that this mention is an intercalation to connect the two portions; and that there has been another large excision of matter which in the final play had properly staged him. Equally abrupt is the re-introduction of Brutus and Cassius. We find them at odds in the second scene, immediately after learning that they are "levying powers"; and at the very first touch with Brutus we find him so deeply suspicious of his colleague's loyalty that he avows his fears to Lucilius. For this there has been no preparation.

Connection and causation are equally lacking for the sudden dispute between Antony and Octavius (v, i, 16-20) as to which of their commands shall make the right wing. There has been no previous hint of dissidence; the whole dispute is begun and ended in five lines; it has no visible bearing on the action; and there is no subsequent explanation. On the most

probable interpretation of line 20, Octavius says "aside" that he will not quarrel with Antony now, but will do so later. For any dispute of the kind there is no foundation in Plutarch. If the scene originally had any significance, it was presumably to indicate a "rift within the lute," prophetic of the later strife between the two men; but to put such a hint suddenly in five lines of undeveloped dialogue, with neither preparation nor sequel, could only puzzle an ordinary audience. Thus in the second part as in the first we find again and again marks of wholesale elision. We are faced, in fine, by a notably short play, which is yet a highly compressed one. The theory that it is a double play condensed into one is seen to be not only tenable: it is the only theory which can explain some of the phenomena under notice. When Professor McCallum writes of the play¹ that "If abridged it is still full, compact, and unattenuated," I can only avow my inability to follow him, great as is the judgment with which he handles many of his problems. His pronouncement here I am fain to reckon an oversight, like his certification of the style and metre as belonging to 1600-1602, his account of the "perfect and harmonious beauty which fulfils the whole play and *every part* of it," and his overlooking of the documentary significance of the double announcement of Portia's death. For me the play as a whole is curtailed, inadequate, and in style extremely unequal.

It is not, however, argued that the play is *at all points* compressed, though the time-compression of the first two Acts is violent. As we have seen, the entire Portia action is extraneous, and her second appearance a kind of purposive excrescence. In the latter case we have seen cause to suspect the curtailer of indulging his own censorious taste while he is cutting down the work of

¹ *Shakespeare's Roman Plays*, p. 176.

other men. At other points we even see the dialogue inappropriately expanded, as in II, i, 101-111, where Decius, Casca, and Cinna have their preposterous discussion as to which way lies the east—a fantastic question to be doubted and disputed upon by Romans living in Rome. The object is obviously to give Cassius and Brutus time to “whisper,” but the insertion is ill-conceived, and tolerably un-Shakespearean. This might be either old matter left standing for the stage reason, or revision with that motive; but either way it is pedant’s work, like the immediately preceding greeting of Brutus and the later lines (167-170) about spirit and blood. So, too, the speeches of Cassius and Decius (193-212) read like after-thoughts suggested by what actually happens in the next scene, and form a strangely slender ground for a definite and timed plan of action. In all this long scene, in short, there is an appearance of re-casting and *expanding* (at this point) a primary play. But the expansion may well have been necessitated by previous excisions.

This, however, is merely to say that the condensation has been unequal, and has been ruled by other motives than that of producing a balanced “Tragedy of Cæsar.” It is in fact anti-Cæsarean. In the fourth and fifth Acts there are the same marks of alternate expansion and curtailment of both primary and secondary work, yielding duplication at one point and at another truncation of episode, with a preliminary obtrusion and discussion of one character, Lepidus, who never re-appears. Extensive excision has evidently been wrought upon what was once a much fuller action.

IX.—THE PRE-SHAKESPEAREAN PLAY

Were the two primary plays, then, both early? On the face of the case, there is a presumption that they were, though our records tell only of a CÆSAR AND

POMPEY in 1594; and a "Second Part" (which presumably led up to Cæsar's assassination) in 1595. A play covering the ground of our fourth and fifth Acts would have been a Third Part—or would have had a new title. But a play in which Antony's harangue follows the assassination pre-supposes a sequel; and though the verse in the first scene of Act IV and some other scenes is partly in another technique, we afterwards find much of the old end-stopped verse, and matter coevally primitive. The central problem, then, is to find the date and first author of Antony's oration.

If we could see our way to date and assign that, we should have come near the heart of our mystery. It is highly effective for its purpose; and the *diction* cannot be said, so far as I remember, to point clearly to any other known hand; but why Shakespeare should here, as late as 1599, write verse so markedly end-stopped, so lacking in his then normal variety of cadence, is a problem I have never been able to solve, or seen sought to be solved.¹ A priori, one might surmise that in a set oration he might deliberately depart from his fluid style² and aim at staccato effects, after the hint of the prose speech of Brutus, which Warburton pronounced to be in a style of euphuistic conceit and antithesis quite alien to the simple terseness of the ancients. It might then conceivably be Shakespeare's on that single score, though I have never been able to believe it his.³ But there is an item in Antony's speeches which presses on us the question of their authorship.

¹ This was written years before the publication of Mr. Bayfield's book.

² This has been independently suggested by Mr. Bayfield—with the difference that he thinks the object was to bear out Antony's plea that he is not an orator like Brutus. (Work cited, p. 48.)

³ In the valuable 12-vol. reprint of the Folio, edited by Miss Porter and Mr. H. A. Clarke, it is noted that there is no hint for the orations of Brutus and Antony in North; but that there is a likeness to Brutus' harangue in Belleforest's *History of Hamblet*. It is even suggested that the speech of Brutus "might possibly have been an unused speech of Hamlet's." I can see no resemblance; but the thesis does not carry much presumption that such adaptable matter was Shakespeare's.

In his soliloquy over Cæsar's body, Antony in an intolerable metaphor (III, i, 260) speaks of the wounds

Which, like dumb mouths, do ope their ruby lips;
and the vicious figure recurs twice in his oration (III, ii, 229-232). It would be rash to say that Shakespeare in his first period was incapable of such imagery, so long as he is not cleared of the guilt of certain execrable puns in serious passages, and of the other idea about Cæsar's blood in III, ii, 182-4; but surely the *double repetition* of such a figure was hardly possible to him, at least as late as 1599. Now, as Malone pointed out, we have the figure in A WARNING FOR FAIR WOMEN, printed in 1599:—

I gave him fifteen wounds
Which now be fifteen mouths that do accuse me:
In every wound there is a bloody tongue
Which will all speak although he hold his peace.

Rep. in Simpson's *School of Shakespeare*, ii, 309.

This play, of which the percentages of double-endings (varying from 5 to 21) clearly point to a date some years before 1599, was played by Shakespeare's company, and it contains three notable parallel passages¹ which are either echoed in MACBETH or tell of an early form of that play. (Fleay puts this in 1596.) It is written throughout in mainly end-stopped verse; and the question for a moment obtrudes itself whether *this* could possibly have been the hand that penned Antony's oration. Apart from the Induction, which suggests a different hand, the WARNING might very well be, as Mr. Dugdale Sykes argues, a late work of Kyd's, so much has it in common with ARDEN OF FEVERSHAM, now widely recognised as his. Can the Antony speeches

¹ Compare (in Simpson's ed.) I, 446-7; II, 2, 12-14, 98-9, 102, 774, 817, with *Macbeth*, I, v, 39-41, 51-54; I, vii, 51; III, iii, 27-28; III, iv, 122. See also *Shakespeare and Chapman*, p. 255, for *Macbeth* echoes in Munday and Chettle's *Downfall and Death* plays on Robert Earl of Huntington (1598). The cumulative evidence for an early *Macbeth* is very strong. Fleay puts the first form as early as 1596. If Kyd wrote the *Warning*, as Mr. Sykes plausibly argues, it was still earlier.

then have been originally penned by Kyd? To ask the question is to be forced to the answer that nowhere in the *WARNING*, or in any play of Kyd's, do we find anything like the exuberant vigour of phrase and expatiation seen in Antony's harangue. It appears to be the product of quite another order of temperament. Either, then, the passage in the *WARNING* is but an echo of a declamation already familiar in a Cæsar play (unless indeed both plays echo a current poetic figure) or the oration of Antony adopts and develops the lines in the *WARNING*. The main reason for preferring the first of these alternatives is that, as we have noted, the verse movement of the oration is very old-fashioned for 1599, whether in Shakespeare's hands or another's. If then we tentatively suppose it to be pre-Shakespearean, whose work could it have been? Again the answer comes promptly. Only the old-style structure of the verse can be cited to sustain the hypothesis that the hand is Kyd's. Of such sustained energy of clear declamation as we find here there is no example in any work yet assigned to him. There was only one man of the pre-Shakespeareans who, so far as we know, had the requisite force, to wit Marlowe. And yet it is impossible to say that the style of the oration is markedly Marlowese; though a possibility of its being his seems to emerge when we recognise as his work the *Roses* scene in *1 HENRY VI*. The first question is, Was he ever concerned in a play on Julius Cæsar?

X.—A MARLOWE PLAY?

That Marlowe would attempt a play on Cæsar is in itself likely enough. In *1 TAMB.*, III, iii, we already have the suggestion:—

My camp is like to Julius Cæsar's host,
That *never fought but had the victory*;

—a passage which, read with the obviously Marlovian line in 1 HENRY VI (i, 16):—

He [Henry V] *ne'er lift up his hand but conquerèd,*

and the further allusions to Cæsar's assassination in 2 HENRY VI (IV, i, 134) and 3 HENRY VI (V, v, 53), hint of the possibility of both a CÆSAR and a HENRY V from his hand. It does not need the allusions in his signed plays to make us feel that this was for him a theme about as attractive as that of Tamburlaine; and Machiavel's line, "What right had Cæsar to the empery?" (JEW, prol.) tells that he would handle it in the light of the historic debate. In the first book of Lucan, which he translated line for line into such notably vigorous blank verse, the whole problem is posited. That we have no record of such a play by him is no bar to the hypothesis. But for Heywood's issue of THE JEW OF MALTA in 1633 with a preface, we should have had no record by a contemporary connecting him with the play named by Henslowe in 1592; and it is morally certain that in his six or more years of productive life he penned in whole or in part many more plays than the half-dozen preserved under his name. In the prologue to FAUSTUS we have references to three plays, inferably (though not certainly) by him, of at least one of which all other trace is now lost:—

Not marching in the fields of Thrasymene
Where Mars did mate the warlike Carthagens,
Nor sporting in the dalliance of love
In courts of kings, where state is overturn'd,
Nor in the pomp of proud audacious deeds,
Intends our muse to vaunt her heavenly verse.

The third allusion may be to TAMBURLAINE; the second to EDWARD II or the MASSACRE; but the first tells of an otherwise unknown play on Hannibal—probably that

¹ The original text has "empire," but the metre and the sense demand "empyry," a word many times used by Marlowe.

referred to by Heywood in his *APOLOGIE FOR ACTORS*.¹ And there are many reasons for supposing a Cæsar play to have been known on the pre-Shakespearean stage. To begin with, the allusion in *HAMLET*, making such a play a matter of Polonius' young days, is not plausibly to be referred to Shakespeare's own tragedy. Secondly, Peele's lines (*EDWARD I*, x, i):—

Not Cæsar, leading through the streets of Rome
The captive kings of conquered nations,
Was in his princely triumphs honour'd more
Than English Edward in this martial sight,

suggests a previous play in which Cæsar triumphed as does Tamburlaine. The old-style prologue to Act v of *HENRY V*, with its lines:—

The mayor and all his brethren in best sort,
Like to the senators of antique Rome,
With the plebeians swarming at their heels,
Go forth and fetch their conquering Cæsar in,

raises the same question, whether or not we suppose the prologue to be an adaptation of one by Peele for an earlier form of the play. Thirdly, we have the same idea given us in Greene's *ALPHONSUS OF ARRAGON*, in the slipshod lines (i, i):—

With such a train as Julius Cæsar came
To noble Rome, whenas he had achiev'd
The mighty monarch of the triple world.

The allusion to "Cæsar's thrasonical brag" in *AS YOU LIKE IT* (v, ii, 34); Falstaff's fling at the same mark in 2 *HENRY IV* (iv, iii, 45); and the two other references in the Shakespeare plays to the same saying (*LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST*, iv, i, 68; *CYMBELINE* iii, i, 22) do not, of course, absolutely require any such explanation even if they could be all supposed anterior to our play; but some of these too are strong hints of a possible presentment of a thrasonical "hook-nosed" Cæsar on the stage at some previous period;

¹ S.S. rep. 1841, p. 56.

and a Marlowe Cæsar would be fairly certain to have a thrasonical cast. The allusions last noted are very much in the manner of that to the "hollow pampered jades of Asia" (2 HENRY IV, II, iv, 178), and of the burlesque line (*id.* l. 435):—

For tears do stop the floodgates of her eyes,
which parodies the common Marlowe type of line:—

And sorrow stops the passage of my speech.
(2 *Tamb.*, III, ii. Cp. 1 *Tamb.*, II, vii, 8).

These humorous echoes, like the many references to the SPANISH TRAGEDY in the drama of the period, suggest a ringing of the changes on something old and familiar, not on something new.

No less suggestive of actual allusion to current drama are two passages in Greene:—

Madam, the king your father's wise enough :
He knows the county, like to Cassius,
Sits sadly dumping, aiming Cæsar's death,
Yet crying " Ave " to his majesty.
Orlando Furioso (Dyce, p. 94b).

Lacy, thou canst not shroud thy traitorous thoughts,
Nor cover, as did Cassius, all thy [*orig.* his] wiles.
Friar Bacon, sc. vii, 1-2 (Dyce, p. 164b).

If Greene were in the habit of drawing upon Plutarch, these might pass as mere historical allusions; but as he has no such habit, they suggest rather strongly an actual reference to current drama, on a par with the mentions of Tamburlaine in SELIMUS. As FRIAR BACON is to be recognised as written to compete with FAUSTUS; and ORLANDO FURIOSO is reasonably to be dated, as by Fleay, 1588-89, we are thus led to surmise a JULIUS CÆSAR dating about 1588, and either preceding or immediately following FAUSTUS. Greene might or might not have shared in such a play.

The readily datable character of these last allusions suffices to allay, in this connection, any chronological

110 ORIGINATION OF "JULIUS CÆSAR"

doubts about such further allusions as these in ALPHONSUS, EMPEROR OF GERMANY (v, iii):—

Like Caius Cassius weary of thy life

Methinks I now present Mark Anthony,
Folding dead Julius Cæsar in mine arms.

A repeated study of ALPHONSUS goes far to confirm the view that it is an old play, in which Peele certainly has a hand; and the style test would seem clearly to show that the opening scene, a passage of which is closely echoed in Peele's DAVID AND BETHSABE,¹ is Marlowe's. It is, moreover, in Marlowe's later manner, not in his first, and the play must therefore be dated after 1590. The allusion to Cassius, then, may be to a play some years later than the section which subsists in the first three Acts of our JULIUS CÆSAR. It is true that ALPHONSUS seems to have undergone revision long afterwards;² and the line on Cassius, which occurs in a passage of run-on lines, might be held to hint of a late rather than of an early style. The second passage, however, seems to be pure Peele; and it is reasonable to connect them. Here again, there is set up a strong surmise of an allusion to an actual drama or dramas, not to the history. If ALPHONSUS be regarded as originally produced in Marlowe's lifetime, as it in all probability was³, the presumption of a pre-existent JULIUS CÆSAR would be yet further strengthened. Two separate plays may be referred to, produced with an interval between; but the many concurring allusions to a primary play are significant. When we note that in the archaic CÆSAR'S REVENGE a triumphal entry scene is specified, though not enacted, it becomes more and more probable that it was enacted in another play; and

¹ See Mr. Dugdale Sykes's essay in *Notes and Queries*, 12th series, II (1916), pp. 464, 484, 503. Mr. Sykes's view that the play as a whole is Peele's does not affect the argument here.

² See Prof. Parrott's ed. of Chapman's Tragedies, p. 690.

³ Cp. Prof. Parrott, as cited, p. 689.

the apparent allusion to such a scene in MEASURE FOR MEASURE (III, ii, 46) is an additional ground for the inference.

Such a presumption is yet further strengthened by the allusions to Cæsar in Marlowe's signed plays. Not only have we the line, "What right had Cæsar to the empery?" we have in EDWARD II a passage which, with those of the HENRY V prologue and Peele's EDWARD I, makes the fourth contemporary specification of a scene in which Julius Cæsar triumphs in the streets of Rome :

Gav. It shall suffice me to enjoy your love,
Which whiles I have, I think myself as great
As Cæsar riding in the Roman street
With captive kings at his triumphant car. (I, i.)

It becomes increasingly difficult to account for so many concrete descriptions of such a scene if it had never been staged. If the passage in the HENRY V prologue can properly be used, as it is by Mr. Macmillan, to infer the existence of Shakespeare's JULIUS CÆSAR in 1599, the passage last cited may (especially on our theory that HENRY V is itself a re-cast of a pre-Shakespearean play) carry the same significance with regard to an earlier CÆSAR. Indeed, this is much the stronger presumption, for it yields a basis for the four allusions to a scene of Cæsar's conquering entry, whereas *no such scene exists in the extant play*. A previous play with a triumph scene would account for everything. Gaveston's simile is a notably forced one, and can better be accounted for as suggested by such a staging than as a historic memory. Whether or not it be finally granted that Marlowe wrote such a play, it will not be disputed that, had he staged Cæsar, he would have given him such a scene. He would probably have found it impossible to bring on

The gates and high pyramides
That Julius Cæsar brought from Africa

(*Faustus*, III, i.);

112 ORIGINATION OF "JULIUS CÆSAR"

but he would have made him "ride in triumph," even as

Where Belus, Ninus, and great Alexander
Have rode in triumph, triumphs Tamburlaine
(2 *Tamb.*, v, i).

That such a scene as the opening one in the existing play was once preceded by a conquering entrance of Cæsar, in which he was fitly staged, has already been suggested on internal grounds. We need not ask whether in such a scene Cæsar may have used his historic phrase, "I came, I saw, I overcame"; but something of the kind he was very likely to have been made to say; and Marlowe was the man to have made him say it. We might safely decide that he would have done so spontaneously. Another touch might perhaps be inferred from the two lines in the *MASSACRE* (I, ii, near end):—

As Cæsar to his soldiers, so say I:
Those that hate me will I learn to loathe.

For Marlowe had actually come within the range of the tradition of a "thrasonical" Cæsar that had been set up on the French stage. If he had not read Garnier's *CORNÉLIE*, his room-mate, Kyd, had. Kyd's rendering of Garnier's play appears to have been finished only about the end of 1593, after Marlowe's death and a year before his own; but he had known the work as early as the date of his writing the *SPANISH TRAGEDY*¹. Now, in *CORNÉLIE* the boastful Cæsar is completely staged (IV, ii); and his triumphal entry into Rome is indicated by Anthony (II. 76-81) as about to happen, off the scene. On the other hand, his readiness for death, and the Ciceronian case against him, are also indicated; so that Kyd and Marlowe between them had to their hand the substance and motive for a Cæsar play, down to the incitation of Brutus by Cassius.

¹ See Prof. Boas, *Introd. to Kyd's Works*, p. xxix.

It would obviously be idle, however, to attempt to reconstruct the supposed pre-Shakespearean play in detail. The special problem now to be considered is, Whether Marlowe may have penned, or partly drafted, a play in which Antony's oration was a main feature, and a sequel in which the scolding scene at the outset of Act v in our play was included? On the latter point, perhaps, there will be little *à priori* denial. The scene is unquestionably primitive, and wholly in the manner of the pre-Shakespearean chronicle-plays, while the diction is as Marlowesque as anything in these. That Shakespeare should write so in 1599 is one of the æsthetic impossibilities of the case. The one alternative hypothesis open seems to be that in 1595, after Marlowe's death, some other hand may have penned a sequel play in the Marlowe style; and that the later revision retained from it this portion; and against this we have the allusion to Cassius in *ALPHONSUS, EMPEROR OF GERMANY*, which points to the fifth Act of our play.

XI.—MARLOWE MATTER?

Provisionally, we may note some apparent traces of Marlowe in both sections of the play :—

(1) The use of "abide" in the short speech of Brutus (III, i, 94) :

Do so; and let no man *abide this deed*
But we the doers;

and again at III, ii, 120, is admitted in the Globe glossary to be peculiar. It is rightly described as "a corruption of *aby*" (=expiate, suffer for), and is so interpreted in the Glossary of Mr. Onions.¹ The only other instances of this usage in the plays are in *MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM*, III, ii, 175, where the Folio has "abide it dear," but the first Quarto reads "*aby*"; and line 335 of the

¹ See also the note of Mr. Tancock on *Edward II*, II, ii, in Clar. Press ed., p. 127.

114 ORIGINATION OF "JULIUS CÆSAR"

same scene, where again the Quarto reads "aby." The natural presumption is that the word was originally written "aby," and that the printer's substitution of "abide" in the Folio was due to the later ascendancy of the corrupted form. In no other instance in the Folio does "abide" carry any save the normal meanings of "stay" and "endure," or the compound sense of "abide me" in *MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM*, III, ii, 422. But in Marlowe, as printed, we have the "aby" sense in *EDWARD II* (II, ii):—

Dear shall you both *abide this riotous deed*;
which points directly back to the line:—

Shall derelie *abie this rebellious act*,
in the *DUKE OF YORK* (sc. xix, 47).

(2) One of the words which appear only in *JULIUS CÆSAR* in the Concordance is *gliding*—"gliding ghosts" (I, iii, 63). The same *phrase* occurs in a Marlovian passage in *EDWARD III* (IV, ii, 13); and in the *JEW* we have "*ghosts that glide by night*" (II, i, 26). The speech in which the phrase occurs in our play is in noticeably end-stopped verse, wholly in Marlowe's manner. Here the clue is weighty and insistent. "Gliding ghost" occurs also in *SOLIMAN AND PERSEDA* (v, iv, 150); but the style here is not Kyd's. His phrase is presumably an echo of Marlowe's.

(3) In two passages in our play (II, ii, 76; III, ii, 192) it is necessary to read "statue" as a trisyllable. This occurs also in 2 *HENRY VI* (III, ii, 80) and *RICHARD III* (III, vii, 25), but nowhere else in the plays (where the word is frequent), though in three other places in our play the trisyllabic pronunciation *might* be given. Now, in Marlowe's *TAMBURLAINE* (Pt. 2, II, iv, end) we have the line:—

And here will I set up her *stature*;¹

¹ This form occurs in Drayton (*Robert of Normandy*, st. 39), evidently by intention, since it rhymes with "nature."

where also we must clearly read *statuë*. His connection with 2 HENRY VI and RICHARD III strengthens the presumption of his presence in JULIUS CÆSAR. It is to be noted, however, that “*statuës*,” as a trisyllable, occurs twice in Kyd’s version of Garnier (CORNELIA, III, iii, 94; IV, ii, 190). On this, and other grounds, though the phrase-clues to him already noted have been dismissed as overborne by the style-test, the possible sharing of Kyd in a Marlowe CÆSAR is to be kept in view, the more because we shall find apparent traces of him in the Marlovian RICHARD III, and unquestionable work of his in the Marlovian EDWARD III.

(4) A slight coincidence of idiom may be noted :—

What need we any spur but our own cause?

II, i, 123.

What weep you when you but behold

Our Cæsar’s vesture wounded?

III, ii, 193

What need the arctic people love starlight?

Marlowe, Ed. II, I, i, 16.

(5) And this coincidence of phrase and idea :—

His silver hairs

Will purchase us a good opinion.

II, i, 144.

These silver hairs will more adorn my court

Than gaudy silks, or rich embroidery.

Ed. II, I, iv, 345.

(6) In Brutus’ speech, II, ii, 129, we have a special use of a word which then had a variety of senses :—

That every like is not the same, O Cæsar,

The *heart* of Brutus *yearns* to think upon.

This occurs (with variant spellings¹) thrice in HENRY V,² once in the WIVES, and once (in participle) in RICHARD II.

¹ The word seems to be properly *ernes*. See notes in Wright’s *Clar. Press* ed. of *Julius Cæsar*, p. 146, and Tancock’s ed. of *Edward II*, p. 156.

² See above, p. 48.

116 ORIGINATION OF "JULIUS CÆSAR"

Of these instances, at least four are suspect. Here the diction is un-Shakespearean; and we recall:—

My heart with pity yearns to see this sight.

Ed. II, iv, vi, 70

(7) There is an obvious quality of commonplace in these two passages:—

We must die, Messala:

With meditating that she must die once,

I have the patience to endure it now.

iv, iii, 189.

Of this I am assur'd,

That death ends all, and I can die but once.

Ed. II, v, ii, 152.

But it is the more certain that when Shakespeare penned the more significant line:

The valiant never *taste* of death but once,

it was not *in addition* to the commonplace under notice. The commonplace is from another hand. The same inference is suggested by a trope such as "those beads of sorrow" in III, i, 284. Shakespeare in KING JOHN has "those crystal beads." That he should there vary a current trope is in the ordinary way of the Elizabethan drama. That he should thus revert to the figure in 1599 was hardly in his way. Antony's use of the phrase is in the manner of early poetic convention. But *this* is not Marlovian.

(8) The word "abjects," as a noun plural (or singular) occurs in the Shakespeare plays only in Antony's speech in this play (IV, i, 37) and in RICHARD III, I, i, 106. It is frequent, in this general sense, in Greene's prose;¹ but it was in fairly common use;² and the speech of Antony savours strongly of Marlowe's later style; while the passage in RICHARD III

¹ *Penelope's Web* (Works v, 178); *Euphues his Censure* (vi, 170); *Farewell to Folly* (ix, 274); *Philomela*, xi, 139.

² See Psalm xxxv, 15, A. V. The word was applicable to both persons and things.

is, on grounds set forth in the next essay, to be assigned to him.

(9) The phrasal echo, in the last line of JULIUS CÆSAR, of Marlowe's line :—

The glory of this happy day is ours
(2 *Tamb.*, III, v, near end),

may doubtless be reckoned one likely to have been made by other playwrights. But it will probably be granted that such an echo is much likelier to have been made within a few years of the production of TAMBURLAINE than as late as 1599 by Shakespeare.

(10) Still more confidently may it be claimed that there is a pre-Shakespearean quality in Cassius' speech on the omens (v, i, 84) :—

This morning are they [the eagles] fled away and gone,
And in their stead do ravens, crows, and kites
Fly o'er our heads, and downward look on us
As we were sickly prey; their shadows seem
A canopy most fatal, under which
Our army lies, ready to give up the ghost.

And here we have a very close echo of the Marlowesque passage in EDWARD III (IV, v, 28) :—

A flight of ugly ravens
Do croak and hover o'er our soldiers' heads. . . .
In brief, our soldiers have let fall their arms,
And stand like metamorphos'd images,
Bloodless and pale, one gazing at another.

We can conceive Marlowe thus repeating himself, or a third-rate playwright thus copying him soon after his death, but not Shakespeare thus feebly copying him or another in 1599. The idea, be it observed, is duplicated in HENRY V (IV, ii, 51) where

Their executors, the knavish crows
Fly o'er them, all impatient for their hour.

HENRY V and JULIUS CÆSAR are assigned to the same year, 1599, unless we revert to the view that our play belongs to 1601 or 1602. The latter view, however,

will here make no serious difference to the problem while the 1599 date is taken as certain for HENRY V. On that view, Shakespeare uses twice over in one year an archaic figment, put in archaic style, and derived from an old play of the Marlowe school, picturing armies discouraged by ominous flights of ravens and crows over their heads. On his part, it would be a mere lapse into artistic bankruptcy. If his second use of it was in 1601 or 1602, with the same reversion to the old model in style and matter, the lapse is none the less astonishing. Why are we to assume such lapses at all, when so much insistent evidence goes to show that all three uses of the literary device belong to the old school, producing all three plays in the days of Shakespeare's nonage?

(11) Perhaps the weightiest of all the clues is that furnished by Antony's address to the corpse of Cæsar, before the arrival of Octavius' servant, at the end of III, i. That is definitely in the style of the harangue of Henry V threatening the sack of Harfleur; and anyone who has admitted the probability of Marlowe's authorship of the latter will admit that he could have written this. Once again¹ we have

Their *infants* quarter'd with the hands of war
—the vision which haunts Marlowe in all such allocutions. The "quarter'd" points to the "quartering steel" of I HENRY VI (IV, ii, 11); the "dogs of war" are the "lean famine, quartering steel, and climbing fire" of that play. The three speeches are all in the same early verse manner, dealing in the same order of ideas; and to assign all three to Shakespeare is to make him write in 1599 in exactly the Marlowe manner of 1589. Those who recognise that the work in I HENRY VI is Marlowe's may here be challenged to say upon what grounds they differentiate, if they refuse to assign to him the companion pieces. Do they con-

¹ See above, p. 11.

fidently affirm that not only the "dumb mouths" with
"their ruby lips" but such lines as

Blood and destruction shall be so *in use*
And *dreadful objects so familiar*. . . .
That this foul deed shall smell above the earth
With carrion men groaning for burial

were penned by Shakespeare at *any* period?

XII.—ANTONY'S ORATION

The great crux remains the oration of Antony. Neither in special vocabulary nor in phrase can we profess to parallel it from Marlowe's signed or assigned work. In the case of Clarence's dream in RICHARD III, such parallels present themselves in abundance; but the oration, apart from a tag or two, is unique. It is only when we recall the leaps and bounds by which Marlowe progressed, the versatility and the fecundity of idea and method in which he surpassed all the pre-Shakespeareans, that we can harbour the notion that he may have drafted Antony's harangue.

Our starting point, and our strongest ground, is that its line-ended verse is essentially in his manner; and that long before 1599 Shakespeare had evolved a very different manner. And there are some special clues of detail. The five-fold iteration of the lines ending in *am-bi-ti-ous* is saliently non-Shakespearean: there is no parallel for it in the other plays, where the word is always a trisyllable (as sometimes in CÆSAR). But it is quite in the manner of Marlowe, who as often writes *i-ous* as *i-on* in such words.¹ In THE JEW, again, in the speech

¹ E.g. :—

And by profession be *ambi-ti-ous*.

¹ Tamb., II, vi, 13.

Which makes me valiant, proud, *ambi-ti-ous*.

² Tamb., IV, i, .

That this device may prove *propi-ti-ous*.

Id. v, i, 52.

Again, he has "licenti-ous" and "outrag-e-ous" (*Edward II.*, II, i, ii). Other writers use these quadrisyllabic forms as occasion requires: e.g., Jonson in *Sejanus* (I, ii, 64) has *ambi-ti-ous*, but Shakespeare never, though he often uses the old *i-on* ending in nouns.

of Barabas in v, ii, 26-47, we have two iterative lines ending in *policy* and three ending in *authority*—the kind of rhetorical effect aimed at in the oration. We are to remember, further, that from TAMBURLAINE its author passed, through plays of which we have noted the apparent loss of one, to such wholly different themes as FAUSTUS and THE JEW and EDWARD II, always preserving the essential structure of his verse, but turning it more and more to dramatic as distinct from epic writing. None of his early corrivals, barring Kyd, could thus throw themselves into a succession of newly-conceived personalities, characters, plots and situations, creating type after type, form after form, and motive after motive. And if we can come to the conclusion that his is the main or primary hand not only in RICHARD III but in I HENRY VI—that he wrote not only Clarence's dream but the Roses scene—we can at least conceive his drafting Antony's oration.

For the distinctive feature in that is, not its verse quality and its diction, which are so un-Shakespearean, but its dramatic originality. It is given in no ancient source and in none of the previous Cæsar plays in Latin and French, though Plutarch slightly indicates such a speech, and Appian and Dio Cassius invent others. It is the product of an imagination which excelled, not in subtlety or truth of portraiture, but in the vigorous and original grasp of simple situations, and in supplying forcible utterance for every masculine personage, albeit always in verse of one kind. If it be granted that Marlowe wrote the Roses scene near the end of his life, it cannot well be denied that he *could* have penned the bulk of the speech of Antony, which is so distinctly in his verse-manner. Now, the percentage of double-endings in the Roses scene is 27, a figure far in advance of anything reached by Shakespeare before his third

period, and this in end-stopped verse such as he never wrote after his first period. But Marlowe actually reaches the proportion of 26 in the first hundred lines of his rendering of the first book of Lucan, to say nothing of the percentages reached in RICHARD III, which are explicable only on the view that that play is primarily his. If we are to attach significance to verse-tests at all, these inferences are forced upon us. To ignore them is merely to refuse to face our problems.

In that conditional form the hypothesis must be left for the present. That Marlowe shared in producing the 19.5 per cent. of double-endings in RICHARD III (25 in the first 100 lines : 32 per cent. in the first speech) when the Shakespearean average, as between JOHN and RICHARD II, is so much less, seems to me an irresistible conclusion;¹ but it calls for separate establishment, as does the similar claim for the Roses scene, with its 27 per cent. of double-endings. The present argument is that if those positions are established, the æsthetic problem in regard to the oration of Antony takes on a new light. The hand that penned the Roses scene, which so stands out in sheer vigour of declamation from its surroundings, without revealing any psychological depth, *could* have compassed, in the main, the similarly striking effect attained in the speech of Antony. That the effect has been heightened by re-touching is likely enough; and we are bound to consider an alternative possibility, discussed hereinafter, that the oration may have been the work of Drayton. But fundamentally the verse is very much the same as that of the Roses scene, and of many of the speeches in EDWARD II (*e.g.*,

¹ Kyd in *Soliman and Perseda* (I, vi) has ten double-endings in one chorus-scene with 36 lines of blank verse; and in another scene (IV, i) 44 in 260 = 17 per cent.; while in the next to that he has 10 in 34. He is the one contemporary who thus multiplies the double-ending in Marlowe's day—doubtless under Marlowe's influence. But Kyd can never be thought of as penning the scenes under notice.

those of Young Spencer, II, i, 31; III, ii, 10; and those of EDWARD, III, ii, 46 seq., 128 seq.). Only the smaller proportion of double-endings in the oration (16 per cent. : 19 per cent. in the 220 lines from 50 to the end of the scene¹) points to an earlier date, which again consists with the inference drawn above from the Cæsar allusions in Marlowe's own plays. If we assign the Roses scene to the last year of Marlowe's life, we might put the Antony oration, in its first form, some years before. To such assignments, moreover, we are encouraged by the circumstance that Marlowe and Peele can both be inferred to have done work for Shakespeare's company in 1592. That is Fleay's justifiable inference from the special appeal made to them by the dying Greene, in his GROATSWORTH OF WIT, to pass on no more of their "admired performances" to the players associated with the upstart "Shake-scene." And when we find Shakespeare's company actually playing THE MASSACRE AT PARIS in 1593, the inference is confirmed, for that play as it stands clearly exhibits Peele's hand as well as Marlowe's. The fact that the MASSACRE was passed on to the Admiral's men raises the question whether Shakespeare's company, then the one chiefly patronised at Court, was advised or admonished to drop Marlowe's plays in view of the proceedings against him which appear to have been contemplated by the Privy Council. That question cannot be answered on the available data. We can but note that plays drafted or planned by Marlowe had been acquired by Shakespeare's company, and that some of them may have been sold or held back, as one was parted with, either for lack of success or for some extraneous reason.

¹ It is noteworthy that the double-endings multiply in the interjected lines of the citizens. These may stand for a later working-up of the scene.

XIII.—THE CONCEPTION OF CÆSAR

To the Marlowe hypothesis it will be spontaneously objected that much of the play is visibly post-Marlovian. But that is part of the case as already put partly on the lines of Fleay. It was the fate of Marlowe as a playwright to miss, to a large extent, permanent appeal as against his later competitors. TAMBURLAINE soon lost its vogue; FAUSTUS and the MASSACRE underwent mutilation and re-casting at the hands of playwrights who could better cater for the popular taste; and, on our theory, his HENRY V and his JULIUS CÆSAR were equally ill-fitted to hold the stage. It is in RICHARD III alone that, still with the help of some revision, he has kept hold of the theatre. But his ideas survived. What is contended for here is a Marlowe basis. That basis, indeed, may conceivably have been laid in a CÆSAR AND POMPEY, in which the triumph scene may have followed—unhistorically, as in our play—on the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalia. And Marlowe is on all grounds the likeliest man to have written the CÆSAR AND POMPEY which was still being played in 1594, the matter for such a play lying to his hand in Lucan. But it seems much more likely that the triumphal entry of Cæsar was put in the forefront of *his* tragedy, after he had actually triumphed in the great decisive battle in a previous play. A triumphal entry at the close of that would have been a superfœtation: the play would naturally end with Cæsar's reception of the news of Pompey's death, and the usual "march away" of the Chronicle plays. Something like the extant opening scene of JULIUS CÆSAR Marlowe may have caused to follow on his entry scene; but though much of its diction plainly belongs to the first half of the decade, it is vain to seek to trace him closely in what is before us. When we compare such lines as :

With slaughtered priests make Tiber's channel swell,
And banks raised higher with their sepulchres

(*Edward II*, I, IV, 101-2),

and these in JULIUS CÆSAR (I, i, 63):—

Draw them to Tiber's banks, and weep your tears
Into the channel, till the lowest stream
Do kiss the most exalted shores of all,

we may surmise a connection. The hyperbole is of the same order, and suggests the same mint: the diction and the vocabulary of Marullus' speech alike recall the Marlowe school. But we soon pass to a style and a matter that are not at all clearly Marlowe's; and our theory posits, as aforesaid, only the origination of the play at his hands, with a series of subsequent revisions that substitute for much of his work later embellishments, while eliminating scenes which he had staged, as the triumphal entry pre-supposed in the first scene of the extant play. It is important to seize first the main implications of the claim.

What is above all given us, on the Marlowe hypothesis, is the "thrasonical" conception of Cæsar with which Shakespeare has been reproached. That conception is also fully given, in a Senecan fashion, in CÆSAR'S REVENGE, which must, as we have seen, be reckoned pre-Shakespearean. It has been clearly shown indeed, by the research of Mr. Ayres, as well as by that of Professor McCallum, that such a Cæsar was previously evolved *on Senecan lines* by Muret, Grévin, and Garnier. But that Shakespeare consulted either the Latin of Muret or the French of Grévin or Garnier in addition to North's Plutarch, is highly improbable; and the hypothesis of a Marlowe-Kyd original, to which we have been inductively led, is in every way more acceptable. Marlowe is very likely to have read further the short play of Muret, which had a great reputation for half a century after its composition in 1544. Indeed, it seems clear that Muret was known to the first draftsmen. Whether the later adaptors whom we suppose to have intervened between Marlowe

and Shakespeare may have had resort to Muret and the others is another question not lightly to be answered. As Prof. McCallum and Mr. Ayres have shown, the mental conflict of Brutus, a typically Senecan procedure, is given in Muret; and Muret gives a possible lead to our play in the cry of Cassius and Brutus, "Spirate, cives! Cæsar interfectus est," as in Cassius' cry, "Roma tandem libera est." Such matter would come naturally enough to Marlowe. One parallel from Pescetti, indeed, suggests that a touch in our play was verbally suggested by his; and of this we shall speak later. But the general matter of the scenes in question is broadly given in Plutarch and Appian, and was thus accessible to Marlowe. It is otherwise with the speech in which Cassius disparages Cæsar as fundamentally a weakling in comparison with himself. For this there is no historical pretext, and it is not a thing likely to have been invented by Marlowe. But when we note that Muret, Grévin and Garnier all make the conspirators dwell on the old scandal of Cæsar's relations with King Nicomedes,¹ we seem to get a possible motive for the invention. In the Latin and French plays, the scandal is given as a ground for the imputation of effeminacy to Cæsar. In the speech of Cassius in our play the offensive story is superseded by fictions which carry the required imputation in a more modern but still a mean way. Neither to Marlowe (who would not have hesitated to tell the old story) nor to Shakespeare would one readily ascribe such a procedure: Marlowe, one fancies, would have disdained it, though as to this there can be no certainty. Shakespeare, one feels, would not have dreamt of it for his own part. Jonson, again, would for his own part have left the old aspersion standing: in *SEJANUS* he trades in such matter. To another hand, or hands, must on that view be ascribed an invention

¹ See Kyd, *Cornelia*, IV, i, 163.

which belittles Cæsar to no good purpose, though Shakespeare doubtless has revised the verse. The problem of the first authorship at this point calls for a separate investigation, which involves a study of all the apparent clues.

XIV.—DRAYTON MATTER?

The question now arises whether our play can have been partly taken up in the CÆSAR'S FALL of 1602, which seems to disappear after having been paid for by Henslowe. It would take a minute and laborious study of the vocabulary, phraseology, and versification of the five writers named by Henslowe to establish any clear ground for or against an opinion on the point. I can see no trace of Middleton or Webster in the versification. Drayton, as it happens, gives us no signed blank verse to study; and unless we assume his authorship of the MERRY DEVIL OF EDMONTON, and guess at his share in SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE, we have no adequate data so far as he is concerned. In neither play, as it happens, is there any reminder of any of the styles in JULIUS CÆSAR. But we have to note (1) the curious fact that one of the words found only in JULIUS CÆSAR in the Shakespeare Concordance, the odd use of "path" in the line (II, i, 83):

For if thou path, thy native semblance on,
points to Drayton. "Path," as a verb, would probably have been given up as a printer's error¹ had not an early commentator found in Drayton's POLYOLBION (Song ii, 55) the line:—

Where, from the neighbouring hills, her passage Wey doth *path*,
and in his EPISTLE FROM DUKE HUMPHREY TO ELINOR COBHAM the line:—

Pathing young Henry's unadvised ways.

¹ Some still hold this view; but Coleridge's "put," accepted by Walker and Dyce, is indefensible. "Put thy native semblance on" yields a poor sense.

I have found in Drayton yet a third¹ use of the term :—

This river [the Meander] did so strangely path itself, that
the Foot seemed to touch the Head.

*Annotations of the Chronicle Historie at end
of Rosamond to Henry the Second in
England's Heroical Epistles* (first published,
1597).

For Drayton, evidently, the verb *path* was a customary one, though it occurs, I think, in no other Elizabethan dramatist.

(2) It is in the same scene (l. 66) that we have the line :— The Genius and the mortal instruments,

in what everyone would fain think a Shakespearean passage, though, like so many others in the play, it bears the mark of a "cut." Without offering any inference, we have to note here that Drayton twice uses the term "Genius" in this classic fashion ("Man's Genius," ROBERT OF NORMANDY, st. 36), and twice "Genuine" (with the capital) as an adjective with the force "pertaining to Genius."

(3) The familiar trope embodied in the line, "Lowliness is young ambition's ladder" (same scene, l. 22) is employed by Drayton in the form: "the stairs by which I first did rise" (LEGEND OF CROMWELL, st. 12). It is not to be supposed that the lines cited in our play are of Drayton's penning as they stand: they have the quality of Shakespeare; but on the hypothesis of a previous play partly re-written by Shakespeare, they are to be noted. The facts that these three items and the next two all occur in one scene, and that Drayton appears to be specially indicated by the verb *path*, constitute a ground for surmise.

(4) He also uses (QUEEN MARGARET, st. 52) the word *cautelous*, found only in JULIUS (same scene, l. 129) and

¹ See also "Plain-path'd experience" in *Idea*, Sonnet 46; and compare Shakespeare's "unpath'd waters" (*Winter's Tale*, iv, iv, 578) = pathless.

CORIOLANUS among the Shakespeare plays. Thus far the clues, such as they are, point to the first play, not to the second, raising the question whether Drayton, who did so much hack-work for the theatre in collaboration, may have had a hand in the "Second Part" of the old CÆSAR AND POMPEY (our "first play"). In his 47th IDEA sonnet he speaks of having had his share of popular applause for his dramatic work; but it is hard to know where to look for it. It may be worth noting that his account of the "shouts and claps at every little pause" is at least quite compatible with such a performance as Antony's oration. Casting tentatively for clues, we may note (5) that the incongruous speech of Brutus on "conspiracy," in which the conspirator discourses on the "monstrous visage" of the procedure he is engaged in, is much more likely to be the idea of another playwright than to be Shakespeare's, and that it might be Drayton's. His Duke Humphrey, in his tender epistle to Elinor, speaks of her "vile conspiracy."

(6) Here and there, in the first part of the play, there are other inconclusive clues which hint of Drayton but cannot be said to identify him:¹ for instance, the familiar line (III, ii, 125):

And none so poor to do him reverence,
recalls these in the EPISTLE OF RICHARD THE SECOND
TO QUEEN ISABEL:—

What earthly humour, or what vulgar eye
Can look so low as on our misery?

But the resemblance is not verbally close; and even where we have a much closer one, as in (7) the often-cited case of the two parallels to the lines on "the elements so mixed," there is doubt as to the priority. The question, however, has been very hastily decided

¹ The fact that Drayton in *Polyolbion* usually makes rivers feminine, and that Tiber is so in *Julius Cæsar*, is not enough to prove his presence there, though it is suggestive. "Thunderstone," a word found only in *Julius* and *Cymbeline* in Shakespeare, occurs in Drayton (*Baron's Wars*, ii, 35).

in favour of the play, the editors being all predisposed to take that course. While Grant White and Aldis Wright take refuge in the suggestion that the idea was a current commonplace, Mr. Macmillan thinks that the passage in *CYNTHIA'S REVELS* was "probably consciously or unconsciously suggested by Antony's eulogium of Brutus." Now, Jonson, with his exceptional memory at the height of its power, was very unlikely to elaborate "unconsciously" an echo of such a sentiment; and with his habit of imputing plagiarism to others he was no less unlikely to borrow anything from a play recently produced, save by way of humorous or satirical quotation, as in the phrase about reason being fled to animals. We have seen reason for doubting whether the last Act of *JULIUS CÆSAR*, as it stands, was in existence in 1600; and we are thus doubly disentitled to deny him priority in respect of the passage under consideration.

The issue lies mainly between Jonson and Drayton. In the 1603 edition of the *BARONS' WARS* (III, 40) we have this stanza concerning Mortimer:—

Such one he was, of whom we boldly say,
In whose rich soul all sovereign powers did suit,
In whom in peace the elements all lay
So mixt as none could sovereignty impute;
As all did govern, yet all did obey;
His lively temper was so absolute,
That it seem'd when heaven his model first began,
In him it showed perfection in a man.

This stanza does not exist in the *MORTIMERIADOS* (1596), of which the *BARONS' WARS* is a re-cast; and in stanza 21 of Book I of the *WARS* there is a somewhat similar description, which also did not appear in the *MORTIMERIADOS*. Here the hero is said to be

All compact of heavenly fire;
So well made up, that such a man as he,
Jove in a man, like Mortimer would be.

The curious thing is that in the 1619 edition the stanza in Book III is re-written so as to bring it into closer similarity with the passage in the play :—

He was a man (then boldly dare to say)
 In whose rich soul the virtues well did suit ;
 In whom so mixt the elements all lay
 That none to one could sovereignty impute ;
 As all did govern, yet all did obey ;
 He of a temper was so absolute,
 As that it seem'd, when Nature him began,
 She meant to show all that might be in man.

That this topic was either of Drayton's own starting or borrowed by him from a play before 1593 is suggested by the eleventh stanza in *THE LEGEND OF PIERCE GAVESTON*, which dates 1593 or 1594 :—

All men in shape I did so far excel
 (The parts in me such harmony did bear)
 As in my model Nature seem'd to tell
 That her perfection she had placed here,¹
 As from each age reserving the rar'st feature
 To make me up, her excellentest creature.

Mr. Macmillan, nevertheless, following Malone and Collier, argues that the priority of Shakespeare is "almost proved" by Drayton's re-writing of the "elements" stanza to a closer resemblance with the play. But if, as we have seen to be possible, the latter part of the play is a re-cast of one in which Drayton took part, Drayton may have been using either his own matter, or his own adaptation of Jonson's passage in *CYNTHIA'S REVELS*. And when we find Shakespeare in *HAMLET* (III, iv, 60) making the prince describe his dead father as

A combination and a form indeed,
 Where every god did seem to set his seal,
 To give the world assurance of a man,

¹ Compare again :

Nature in him her utmost power did see.
Richard to Isabella, l. 78.

we are sent back to Drayton's *first* description of Mortimer :—

This was the man, at whose unusual birth
The stars were said to council to retire,
And in aspects of happiness and mirth
Mark'd him a spirit to greatness to aspire,
That had no mixture of the drossy earth,
But all compact of perfect heavenly fire;
So well made up, that such a one as he
Jove in a man, like Mortimer would be,¹

which is fairly close to "the front of Jove himself." That Shakespeare in *HAMLET* was rivalling a passage written by himself seems to me less likely than that he was developing something from Drayton, as he so frequently seems to have done in the Sonnets. It is to be observed that in the First Quarto of *HAMLET* we do not find "the front of Jove," but instead the couplet :

A front wherein all virtues are set down
For [? fit] to adorn a king, and gild his crown.

Drayton, it would seem clear, was not echoing the original play.

Another perplexity is set up by the parallelism between the passage in *JULIUS CÆSAR* (II, i, 24) :—

When he once attains the topmost round
He then unto the ladder turns his back,
Looks in the clouds, scorning the base degrees
By which he did ascend,

and one in Daniel's *CIVIL WARS*, published in 1602 :—

The aspirer, once attain'd unto the top,
Cuts off those means by which himself got up.

The inference that the play, *as it stands*, was penned in 1599 or 1600, thus becomes increasingly difficult. We are now to suppose that *three* poets had independently echoed passages from an unpublished play which they had very recently seen at the theatre. Certainly the soliloquy of Brutus has every appearance of being Shakespearean. Its versification is as much in his

¹ This stanza also is partly re-written in later editions.

manner as Antony's oration is out of it. But when we note that there are nine double-endings in the 33 lines¹ of the scene down to "and kill him in the shell," whereafter the style and versification notably change, we are moved to ask whether Shakespeare did not revise even this part of the play *after* 1602. The use of the word "degrees" (=ladder-steps), which in this sense occurs nowhere else in the Shakespeare plays (though it is sometimes implied: *e.g.*, AS YOU LIKE IT, v, ii, 41; TWELFTH NIGHT, iii, i, 134), was one of Fleay's points in support of his hypothesis of abridgment by Jonson, who speaks of the "degrees" of the Gemonian stairs in SEJANUS. But as the *style* here is not Jonson's, and as the word is used in the sense of stair-steps by Chapman in a stage direction in his CÆSAR AND POMPEY, and also in the dialogue, we cannot treat its use here as a mere proof of a Jonsonian abridgment. It was in fact a fairly common English word, French-derived (it occurs frequently in Heywood); and it may either have been used by Shakespeare independently² or found by him in a Chapman draft which he was revising.

(8) There remains to be noted yet another item which raises the question of the possible presence of Drayton in the pre-Shakespearean form of the first part of our play—the "second part," that is, of the supposed prior series. In the second canto of the BARONS' WARS (st. 39), there occur the lines:—

So that their wounds, like mouths, by gaping wide,
Made as they meant to call for present Death;
Had they but Tongues, their deepness gives them breath.

¹ A much higher percentage than that of the play as a whole.

² The phrase "degrees and steps to heaven" occurs in the Argument of the *Hystorie of Hamblet*, translated from Belleforest, which *may* have appeared before 1600. Also we have "the degrees of a theatre" in North's Plutarch (ed. Skeat, p. 193). The word was certainly familiar.

(Again the passage is absent from the *MORTIMERIADOS* (1596) which has the figure (D3, *verso*):—

It seemed the very wounds for grief did weep.)

Here then we have Drayton exploiting the figure of the mouth-like wounds which speak or need only tongues to speak—the figure manipulated in similar fashion in the *WARNING FOR FAIRE WOMEN*, as before noted. This use of the trope has indeed more air of elaboration than of spontaneity; but, to judge from his repeated use of the idea of Nature mixing her elements to make a perfect man, Drayton was much disposed to re-handle either another man's figure or his own, and we may be facing a result of either process. When, further, we note that he makes "suspitious" a quadrisyllable in the *HEROICAL EPISTLES* (*MARGARET TO POOLE*, l. 13 from end), we have a case for him, as conceivably the author of the Antony oration, which only a grounded proof of other authorship can set aside. As above admitted, we really do not know what kind of blank verse he wrote, and must be content, as the evidence stands, to leave the problem open.

There is a bare possibility, suggested by the occurrence of the wounds-mouths figure in Drayton's signed verse and in the *WARNING FOR FAIRE WOMEN*, that he may have had a hand in that play.¹ His capacity for prosaic matter of fact in his historical poems—notably in the longer *BATTAILE OF AGINCOURT*—makes it partly conceivable that, with the example of *ARDEN* before him, he could have so written tragedy; but I can see no internal evidence of his hand, and there is no external evidence on the subject. Fleay's suggestion that he wrote *THOMAS, LORD CROMWELL* appears to be based solely on the fact that he penned the *LEGEND*; but while the play coincides with the poem at a number of points, it diverges from it at others; and it is hard to conceive that a man of his faculty could write a play so poor in every regard.

There remain to be considered the facts that he had some share in *SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE*, and that Fleay has assigned to him certain portions of that piece. But these assignments connect with

¹ It has the phrase (l. 638) "the Ladder of Promotion"; and "promotion" is one of Drayton's common terms.

Fleay's acceptance of the tradition that Drayton wrote *THE MERRY DEVIL OF EDMONTON*, and are based rather on the comedy elements than on any analysis of the verse in either play. In both I have noted one or two possible clues¹ to Drayton, but nothing more; and one is moved to assent to Professor Elton's conclusion² that Drayton's share in *OLDCASTLE* is unknowable and in *THE MERRY DEVIL* unproved. In any case, *OLDCASTLE* does not contain one notable line. It is pure hack-work.

XV.—JONSONIAN REVISION

A separate question as to the dating of our play is raised by the scene-section in which the servant of "Octavius" comes to Antony with the news of his master's approach. That section brings into the discussion the "academic" tragedy of *CÆSAR AND POMPEY*, or *CÆSAR'S REVENGE* (printed in 1606) before referred to. As a whole, that drama has nothing whatever to do with ours, following as it does Appian and not Plutarch. On some copies, dated 1607, it is described as having been "privately acted by students of Trinity College in Oxford"; and it may well be the work of a University amateur; though one might feel disposed to see in it an early performance of Lodge, to whose *WOUNDS OF CIVIL WAR* it has a strong general resemblance. The fact that it has very few of the special verbal mannerisms of the *WOUNDS* is, however, a good ground for leaving it unassigned, while pronouncing it to belong to the years immediately following the appearance of *TAMBURLAINE*. It is probably at least a dozen years older than its published date, and might have been penned about 1590. It is a wholly rhetorical performance, written entirely in end-stopped verse, with some rhyme, but few double-endings;³ and apparently

¹ E.g., "Sacrificing bell," *Merry Devil*, III, i, 42; Drayton, *King John to Matilda*, ed. 1619, p. 119.

² *Michael Drayton*, ed. 1905, p. 93.

³ I have noted only 20 to the 2,488 lines.

with a dutiful eye to the rigid measure of FERREX AND PORREX and THE MISFORTUNES OF ARTHUR, though it echoes LOCRINE, TAMBURLAINE, the SPANISH TRAGEDY, and Book I of the FAERIE QUEENE.¹ As Mr. Greg observes in his edition of Henslowe, there is no reason whatever to connect it with Part II of the old CÆSAR AND POMPEY, produced in 1595; though it was doubtless then in existence. Beginning as it does with the battle of Pharsalia, it leaves no room for a First Part. It is certainly dull enough to account for its being dropped after two performances, if it had been the Second Part in question.

It is quite possible, however, that it proceeded on knowledge of an early Marlowe play, and that it in turn was known to the authors of CÆSAR'S FALL in 1602; and it either expressly followed an old play at one point or gave the lead at that point for either the original construction or an alteration wrought upon the double play that we have inferred to underlie our JULIUS CÆSAR. CÆSAR'S FALL, it will be remembered, had the alternative title of THE TWO SHAPES, a conundrum not yet solved, but suggestive of some manipulation of the Ghost or Genius motive employed both in our play and in CÆSAR'S REVENGE. In the academic tragedy there are two spirits, the Ghost of Cæsar and the Genius of Antony, the former of which plays a large part in the later Acts; and it seems probable that a similar machinery may have entered into CÆSAR'S FALL,—which may, indeed, have been an adaptation of the other. In any case, the academic play seems to have given the hint for the introduction of Octavius (here correctly named Octavian) in time for Cæsar's funeral. If we are to suppose that episode to have occurred in

¹ See ll. 1180-83, echoing the favourite passage (F.Q., I, v, 2) imitated by Peele (*David and Bethsabe*, II, iii); l. 565, copying 2 *Tamb.*, IV, iv, 8; and 377-8, 604, echoing the *Spanish Tragedy*, II, vi, 5-6; III, x, 106. There are also echoes of Greene, and 24 "for-to's" suggest his influence.

the original first part of our play, it is to the academic play that we should look for the cue, seeing that history does not give it. Of course, Marlowe may have invented the detail, and the academic writer may have followed him, correcting his "Octavius" to Octavian. On the other hand, if the episode was not in the first play, we might have a *prima facie* ground for dating the second part after 1606, though the group of 1602 also may have operated.

Fleay in his *MANUAL* put the hypothesis that *JULIUS CÆSAR* was revived in 1607, and that the academic play was printed in rivalry to it, adding: "In any case, I think it likely that *some* production¹ or reproduction was at that date, and another after Shakespeare's death with Jonson's alterations." I am somewhat inclined to think that Fleay may have been so far right that what took place in 1607 was the production, as a revived play, of the second portion of *JULIUS CÆSAR*, possibly on the basis of the *CÆSAR'S FALL* of 1602; and that the publication of the academic play and of Lord Stirling's gave the impulse. On that view, however, the new play was certainly not Shakespeare's work, for there is almost nothing of his later style in *JULIUS CÆSAR*, and the last two Acts have less even of his middle style than the first three. If, then, we are not to reduce his share of the later Acts to a slight revision of other men's work, we shall have to revert to the hypothesis that while the later Acts are indeed of other men's drafting, and probably are the débris of a complete play of *CÆSAR'S REVENGE*, that play was either the old sequel to the assassination play or one re-cast about 1602, and re-touched by Shakespeare about that time. It may or may not have been *CÆSAR'S FALL*: the production of that play could have sufficed to elicit another on the

¹ In 1876 Fleay left open the possibility that Malone was right in dating the first production 1607—a possibility which later he would have denied.

same theme, as so often happened in those times; or it might itself have been so elicited.

Given a double play in existence in 1602, then, it is conceivable that its condensation into a single one took place in 1607, on the new stimulation of the two other plays published in that year. It may seem unlikely that Jonson would be called in to do the abridgment in Shakespeare's lifetime; but I think it very possible. Jonson, as Fleay points out, had some practice in adaptation; and in any case it is impossible to believe that the abridgment we can actually trace in our play was done by Shakespeare himself. Busied as he was with new creative work at his highest pitch, he might well, in 1607, delegate such a piece of surgery to a competent friend. But we cannot exclude the possibility that the abridgment was made after his death; and the fact that Jonson at some time thereafter continued to fuss over "Cæsar did never wrong but with just cause," may be held to suggest that he had not at the time of writing been able to lay that ghost. There is another reason, not noted by Fleay, for supposing Jonson to have operated in the excision of Shakespeare's bold figure. That the line originally stood as Jonson says is made highly probable by the fact, noted by Steevens, that in *LUCRECE* (939-943) Shakespeare wrote :

Time's glory is. . . .

To *wrong* the *wronger* till he render right.

Now, in Act iv, scene ii, Brutus is expressly made to underline Ben's protest against the liberty thus taken with the verb "to wrong" :—

Cas. Most noble brother, you have done me wrong.

Bru. Judge me, you gods! wrong I mine enemies?

And, if not so, how should I wrong a brother?

That Shakespeare made that capitulation to Ben's ferule, I am unable to believe. Taken with the stultification of Portia in ii, iv, which so strongly

suggests Jonson, and the new attitude towards Cæsar assigned to Brutus in the speech in which he describes the dead hero's sin as one of "supporting robbers," it tells distinctly of a process of revision in which Shakespeare did not largely share. That it was carried through by Jonson remains, when all is said, a fair hypothesis. He was certainly connected with the issue of the Folio in 1623, and we are told that the Folio text of JULIUS CÆSAR "is accurate to an exceptional degree." It then was corrected with exceptional care. Whose, if not Jonson's? Or, if we deny that a careful corrector would pass the double relation of Portia's death, and that Jonson would have passed the blunder of "Octavius," shall we infer that the printing was unusually correct because it was done from a recent manuscript?

The remaining arguments for an abridgment by Jonson are (1) those cited from Fleay at the outset of this paper, taken in conjunction with (2) the whole internal evidence that goes to prove the original existence of two plays, which have been condensed into one; (3) the passage in CYNTHIA'S REVELS, with or without the hypothesis of an intermediate link in Drayton; and (4) certain idioms of Jonson's, found in this play and nowhere else in Shakespeare. Fleay notes in this kind the use of "I will come home *to* you" (I, ii, 309), which occurs in CATILINE (III, i, 128); and "bear me hard," found three times in JULIUS and also in CATILINE (IV, v). To meet the first, as did Furnivall, by pointing to mere uses of "come home" in the plays, is idle. To these considerations may be added this, that the abridgment appears to have lowered the character of Cæsar, while giving full scope to the hostile case, and that Jonson in SEJANUS is a pronounced anti-Cæsarean. He makes Arruntius speak (I, i) of

God-like Cato, he that durst be good
When Cæsar durst be evil,

and of Brutus, who struck

So brave a blow into the monster's heart
That sought unkindly to captive his country;

concluding his speech with :—

'Tis true that Cordus says,
Brave Cassius was the last of all that race.

And again Natta says to Cordus (III, i) :—

Thou praisest Brutus, and affirm'st
That Cassius was the last of all the Romans.

These passages do not carry any presumption that Jonson wrote the line in JULIUS CÆSAR (v, iii, 99), seeing that Shakespeare actually played in SEJANUS, and in any case the phrase is given in Plutarch; but with the others they indicate how Jonson would be likely to deal with Cæsar. Finally, I would suggest that the last scene of Act III is non-Shakespearean, and may possibly be Jonson's, having regard to his presentment of the mob in SEJANUS. As it stands, it merely serves to make an interlude between the arrival of Octavius and the new action in Act IV. It certainly cannot be said to exhibit Jonson's style: its hasty prose precludes such a possibility. But on the question of style we are to remember on the other hand that Jonson's descriptive verse in tragedy now and then approaches more closely to Shakespeare's middle manner than that of almost any contemporary before Marston. Such passages as these in SEJANUS might almost have given Shakespeare hints in 1603 :—

What his funerals lacked
In images and pomp, they had supplied
With honourable sorrow, soldiers' sadness,
A kind of silent mourning, such as men,
Who know no tears but from their captives, use
To show in so great losses.

He was the soul of goodness,
And all our praises of him are like streams
Drawn from a spring, that still rise full, and leave
The part remaining greatest.

Jonson's later verse, after CATILINE, falls far below this level of execution; and if we believed that it was Shakespeare who collaborated with Jonson in SEJANUS, we might almost suspect that these were passages of his which Jonson had left standing, while professing to eliminate the work of his collaborator. But that was probably Chapman.

XVI.—CHAPMAN MATTER?

If, however, a Jonson revision was the last step in the formation of our text, it does not ostensibly account for all the phenomena. If it was he who inserted the scene of Portia's futile flurry, it was not he who introduced Portia. I have inferred that our play proceeds, first, upon a Marlowe play dealing only with Cæsar and his assassination—a "Tragedy of Julius Cæsar" which may very well have been, to begin with, the Second Part of the old CÆSAR AND POMPEY, also probably by Marlowe. But there are certain reasons for thinking that, if so, the old play had been re-cast by other hands, both before and after coming under Shakespeare's. To begin with, we have seen ostensible clues to Drayton, some of which can hardly be set aside. And there are other clues, implicating Chapman, whose TRAGEDY OF CÆSAR AND POMPEY points to some connection with a Cæsar cycle. Printed in 1631, avowedly without ever having been staged, and long after the date of writing (which, however, is not specified), it must be presumed to have been an attempt to supersede the old tragedy on the same theme. It is substantially a pro-Pompeian performance, in which, however, Cæsar is not much mis-used, as apart from invective passed upon him; and it is noteworthy that the action of our JULIUS CÆSAR proceeds at the outset in the very key and spirit of

Chapman's play. If then we find any clear marks of Chapman in JULIUS, we may fairly surmise that he had a hand in drafting or re-casting that, by way of superseding the second as he tried later to supersede the first of the "Cæsar and Pompey" plays.

As we have seen, the disappearance of both from the repertory of the Admiral's men in 1595 (while they went on playing HENRY V, though one performance in 1596 brought them only fifteen shillings), suggests an acquisition by others. If, however, Chapman worked on a tragedy of Cæsar so early as 1595, his CÆSAR AND POMPEY is a considerably later performance, marked as it is by his mature tragic style, with its great abundance of double-endings. It might reasonably be dated as late as 1607. The chances are that the old CÆSAR AND POMPEY, though penned by Marlowe, lacked permanent drawing power as his HENRY V would, by reason of running more to declamation than to action. Played thrice in its first month (November, 1594) it appears only once a month till March, 1595, whereafter it is tried only once again, in June, as prelude to Part II, once played earlier in the month. Supposing Chapman's Pompey play to have been written about 1607 in connection with a revival of the Julius play, it would presumably be rejected as disqualified by the same fault. But the Part II of 1595, whether wholly by Marlowe or not, would be likely to suffer from the same drawback; and a part revision by Chapman then or some time later would be a likely explanation of his proposing a new Pompey play at a later period.

Secondly, we find some ostensible traces of Chapman in the vocabulary of JULIUS CÆSAR. We may begin by noting four words which first appear in the Concordance in this play, and are only once used later: *replication* (I, i, 47), *concave* (next line) *retentive* (I, iii, 95), and *thunderstone*, all of which are used by

Chapman—the first two frequently, the last twice. But Drayton, as we have seen, also has *thunderstone*. *Once-used* words are, of course, more important, and of these we note :—

1. *Recreate* (III, ii, 256). Several times in Chapman. *Recreative* in the *Batrachomyomachia*, pref.
2. *Illuminate* (I, iii, 110). Used by Chapman. Hom. Hymn to Hermes—Poems, p. 294 b.
3. *Wafture* (II, i, 246), another one-play word, is a formation very much in Chapman's manner. Compare his *facture*, *extensure*, *expulsure*, *exhausture*, *opposure*, *appeasure*, etc. It is an affected expression as here used, and "wafting" (with the hand) is a common phrase with him.

Two other words which occur in the Concordance only here and in CORIOLANUS : *physical* (II, i, 161) = medicinal or salutary; and *cautelous* (II, i, 129), are also used by Chapman. But *cautelous*, as we saw, occurs also in Drayton. Another first use of a word in this play is that of the verb *scandal* (I, ii, 76), which is rather a specialty of Chapman's, as is the verb *hug* in the previous line. But here again Drayton is also suggested, as he has both. And so, again, has Heywood, who, as it happens, echoes JULIUS CÆSAR rather noticeably in his BRAZEN AGE (pub. 1613). Compare :

Of this fierce boar *crimsoned in the spoils*
(*Ed. Pearson*, vol. iii, p. 188),

with

Signed in thy spoil and crimson'd in thy lethe.
J.C. III, 207.

There are sound grounds for Fleay's dating of the BRAZEN AGE before 1598. If it could be taken as certain that it was printed as it was first written, the echo in question might be held to indicate the existence of our play at the time here contended for. The "crimson'd in thy lethe" is part of some of the most

old-fashioned writing in the drama; and it will perhaps be admitted that the ensuing lines:—

O world, thou wast the forest to this hart;
And this indeed, O world, the heart of thee.
How like a deer, stricken by many princes,
Dost thou here lie!

are—like the two which go before—as perfectly within the competence of Heywood as they are beneath the style of Shakespeare in 1599. Further, if “lethe” and not “dethe” was really the original reading in the “spoils” line, Heywood was of all men the likeliest to have written it; for the suggestion that “lethe” was a term of venery is ill-borne out,¹ and Heywood uses the classic “Lethe” with a peculiar heedlessness.² But it is here as with the partial duplication of the *TEMPEST* passage “Ye elves of hills” in the same play of Heywood (p. 215): we cannot be sure that the printed text is not a revision; and as he actually echoes in the *SILVER AGE* (Pearson, iii, 187) some lines of *VENUS AND ADONIS*, the other passages under notice may also be imitations.

A number of other words found here and in portions of plays where Chapman's hand may be traced with some confidence (*e.g.*, “character,” a Chapman word, found in the *MERRY WIVES*, v, v, 77) would be evidence only for those who recognised his probable presence in the parts in question.³ Suffice it to say that there are words occurring in this play and in the admittedly composite *TIMON*, *TROILUS*, and *PERICLES* which give at least ground for inquiry, inasmuch as they all point in

¹ Justice Madden (*Diary of Master Silence*, ed. 1907, p. 63) accepts Capell's statement to this effect, but offers no corroboration. There is no other trace of the word in literature.

² In the old commentators' dispute as to whether Lethe could mean simply death, it was denied that Heywood so used it. But he writes “drowned in Lethe” and “extinct in Lethe,” when in the terms of the case he *must* mean destruction, not oblivion.

³ See the author's essay, *The Problem of the “Merry Wives of Windsor,”* Shakespeare Association, 1917.

the same direction. The fact that the idea of the eye seeing not itself (i, ii, 52) is found fully developed in *TROILUS* (iii, iii, 105), raises, further, a chronological issue. That idea seems to have been put in fresh currency by Sir John Davies' poem, *NOSCE TEIPSUM*, which appeared in 1599—another ground for placing a *JULIUS* about that year; and the critical tendency, since Fleay, is to put *TROILUS* about the same time. But the difference in quality of style between *JULIUS* and *TROILUS* is so great as to call for some solution; and it will be hard to give one which does not posit a large non-Shakespearean element in the former play, even if, as I think is necessary, we make *TROILUS* the later.

On the simple score of matter, I should be disposed to assign, if not the origination, the expansion of the long anti-Cæsarean narration of Cassius in the second scene to Chapman, who in his *CÆSAR AND POMPEY* shows a readiness to embroider history that is without parallel either in *ANTONY* or in *CORIOLANUS*. Such a narration, as has been above suggested, can be understood as motivated by the practical need to supply the conspirators with some more presentable matter in disparagement of Cæsar than the unsavory scandal of his youthful relations with King Nicomedes of Bythinia, which is put in their mouths by Muret, Grévin and Garnier. But Cassius' speech is the invention of an anti-Cæsarean, of a different temper from Shakespeare's. It is idle, in this connection, to seek to aggrandise Shakespeare by claiming that he was above "servile" adherence to his authorities. He modified them where it was dramatically necessary; but, compared with his corrivals, he invents little in his great historical plays. The first presentment of Portia, too, strikes me as much more Chapmanesque than Shakespearean. The framing of a scene for its own sake, out of due proportion to the main action, is in Chapman's way rather

than Shakespeare's; and the argumentative purport is in the same case. And though Portia's thesis about

That great vow

Which did incorporate and make us one,

and the rest, is doubtless a commonplace, it is worth noting that it is introduced at least nine times over by Chapman in his signed or certain work—in *HERO AND LEANDER* (5th Sestiad : Poems, p. 86*a*); in the poem of *A GOOD WOMAN* (p. 152); in the *HYMN TO HYMEN* for the marriage of Princess Elizabeth (p. 176); in *ANDROMEDA LIBERATA* (p. 190*b*); in *ALL FOOLS* (I, i, 112-115); in *THE WIDOW'S TEARS* (II, iv, 31-32); in *SIR GILES GOOSECAP* (IV, iii, 5-23); and in *THE GENTLEMAN USHER* (IV, ii, 160-181; iii, 15-23). And the versification and diction of the scenes, though probably worked over by Shakespeare, are distinctly below the higher levels of his early-middle period, as so often happens in other parts of the play. Anyone who will compare the Portia scene with that last above referred to in *THE GENTLEMAN USHER* will realise that it is within Chapman's compass, and quite in his spirit. It may be helpful to collate here most of the Chapman passages :

To show the union married loves should use,
Since in two equal parts it [light] will not sever,
But the midst holds one to rejoin it ever
As common to both parts.

Hero and Leander (Poems, ed. Shepherd, p. 86*a*).

The next is a kind of description of Portia, as she presents herself on the scene :—

So your good woman never strives to grow
Strong in her own affections and delights,
But to her husband's equal appetites,
Earnests and jests, and looks, austerities,
Herself in all her subject powers applies :
Since life's chief cares on him are ever laid,
In cares she ever comforts, undismayed.

. . . . Every thought

Weighty on him still watch'd in her, and wrought.

A Good Woman (*Id.* p. 152*a*).

Hymen . . .

Two into one contracting, one to two
Dilating, which no other God can do.

Hymn to Hymen (*Id.* p. 176a).

O gain, beyond which no desire can crave,
When two are so made one, that either is
For one made two, and doubled as in this.

Andromeda Liberata (*Id.* p. 190b).

In the last-cited poem the theme is endlessly elaborated;
but the parallelism may be best perceived from the
dramatic passages:—

And didst thou know the comfort of two hearts
In one delicious harmony united
As to joy one joy, and think both one thought
Live both one life, and therein double life. . . .

All Fools, I, i, 112-115.

That woman should entertain wedlock as one body, as one
life, beyond which there was no desire, no thought.

The Widow's Tears (ed. Parrott, II, iv, 31-32).

The passage in SIR GILES GOOSECAP is of a more
abstract kind; but those in THE GENTLEMAN USHER
come close, with the reciprocated vows of the lovers and
spouses, to the key of Portia:—

I swear

By my love to you, which commands my life
By the dear price of such a constant husband
As you have vowed to be
In and for you shall be my joys and woes;
If you be sick, I will be sick, though well;
If you be well, I will be well, though sick.

Act IV, ii, 168-179.

Oh, what a treasure is a virtuous wife
Discreet and loving! Not one gift on earth
Makes a man's life so highly bound to heaven;
She gives him double forces to endure
And to enjoy, by being one with him,
Feeling his joys and griefs with equal sense. . . .

Id., iii, 11-16.

In Chapman, alike the lyrical and the didactic impulse
are constantly running away with the business of the
scene; and that is the case where, in JULIUS CÆSAR,

Portia is introduced to proclaim an ideal rôle which she cannot sustain. Brutus and she reciprocate just as he would have made them do, in verse that, though transfigured here and there by Shakespeare's touch, is not distinctively his. Still less his is the handling of Portia, in her second scene, which we have reason for assigning provisionally to Jonson.

It is true, indeed, that two of Portia's speeches in her first scene (279-287, 291-302) have a rather marked resemblance in their manner to that of Antony's oration. But though even Chapman, whose besetting sin is obscurity, avowed that oratory must be "pervial" or perspicuous, I cannot suppose him to have written the oration; and though Marlowe might conceivably have written these speeches of Portia's, the terms "father'd" and "husbanded," which are particularly Chapmanesque, tell in favour of assigning it to him as it stands.

It is only in the light of these apparent traces of him that any importance attaches to the fact that the idea of wounds speaking, thrice put by Antony, occurs twice in later work of Chapman:—

And every wound has a condemning voice
To cry out guilty 'gainst the murderer.

Widow's Tears, v, iii, 26-27.

His mouthlike wounds.

Eugenia, Vigil, III, Inductio, 2.

These must apparently be classed as echoes of a trope made familiar in the old play. But its commonness is, of course, also a reason for giving only tentative weight to it in connection with Drayton and the WARNING FOR FAIRE WOMEN.

A clearer clue, and a very interesting one, is supplied by the line (II, i, 187):

Is to himself take thought and die for Cæsar.

¹ Epist. Ded. to *Ovid's Banquet*.

It does not seem to have been realised by any commentator that we have here an instance of the "split infinitive" of modern debate. But such it is. The Boswell Variorum edition, following the Folio, puts a semi-colon after "himself"; Dyce and White put a comma and a dash; Wright, Macmillan and other editors a comma—all making the first clause say that "All that he [Antony] can do is to himself," making no grammatical extension to the "take thought and die for Cæsar"—which is treated as a disjoined phrase. Only the inability to conceive Shakespeare guilty of a split infinitive can blind any reader to the fact that the true construction is "to (himself) . . . die for Cæsar." Now, the split infinitive is a specialty of Chapman, who uses it at least nine times,¹ being indeed the first notable writer to resort to that form. If no other instance can be found in the Shakespeare plays—and I can recall none—there is a considerable presumption of his presence here, a few lines before the speech of Decius about unicorns and other animals, which, as Steevens noted, points to a passage in BUSSY D'AMBOIS (II, i, 119).²

And there are yet other apparent clues to Chapman, besides those of vocabulary, in the same scene. In particular there is to be noted the peculiar use of metaphor in two of Brutus' lines (II, i, 98-99):—

What watchful cares do interpose themselves
Betwixt your eyes and night?

This is exactly the kind of effect which in a line of the LOVER'S COMPLAINT (67) points to Chapman, who has half-a-dozen such contortions of figure. (See the instances given in SHAKESPEARE AND CHAPMAN, p. 71.)

If, however, any of the verse in JULIUS CÆSAR be his as it stands, it must be assigned to his earlier period, of

¹ See *Shakespeare and Chapman*, p. 75.

² Compare, in the same play, III, i, 160-166, where the same general idea is introduced.

which the blank-verse manner is substantially preserved in his comedies, but not in his tragedies. In any case, there appears to have occurred, whether at the hands of Shakespeare or at those of Jonson, a certain planing-down of the various style-elements, though at points the difference in texture remains obvious. Some, indeed, of the crudest of the old matter (as *III*, *i*, 101-121; *v*, *i*, 80-89) remains unmodified. But while the diction in many passages of *JULIUS* remains flat and feeble where Shakespeare might be expected to make it vivid, as where Brutus, seeing the ghost, says :—

I think it is the weakness of mine eyes

That shapes this monstrous apparition,

there has been, at least in the first three Acts, a general revision by him, giving a degree of general firmness and freedom to the verse which differentiates it from any other non-Shakespearean tragic work of the 'nineties.

XVII.—SUMMARY

It is now possible to frame, tentatively, a general sketch of the probable history of our play. It was, I think, originated, apparently by Marlowe, before 1590. Whether or not he was at the time of writing associated with Kyd, who confessedly was his room-mate in 1591, it is impossible to say; but in the opinion of Mr. Boas it is probable that "the two dramatists became associated in the latter part of 1590."¹ In the summer of that year Kyd had taken service with a certain unidentified Lord (probably Lord Fitzwater, who became Earl of Sussex in 1593), a patron of players, for whose company Marlowe wrote. Kyd's acquaintance with the CORNÉLIE of Garnier, then, would put Marlowe in touch, if he had not already read the Latin play of Muret, with the dramatic presentment of the boastful and self-worshipping Cæsar evolved on Senecan lines by the

¹ Introd. to Kyd's Works, p. lxvi.

French tragedians of the previous generation. Kyd, in fear of his life on a charge of heresy in 1593, after being put to the torture, denied any "familiar" intercourse with the dead Marlowe, whom he meanly aspersed; but what intercourse they had must have turned largely upon play-writing. That gives the probable starting-point for the Cæsar of our play. It is unnecessary, on this view, to suppose any further study by Marlowe of preceding dramas: and still less necessary to suppose that Shakespeare made any such study.

A knowledge of the *CESARE* of Pescetti, published in 1594, is however possible in the case of Chapman; and our surmise that Chapman introduced Portia acquires some new importance when we note, in the valuable monograph of Dr. Alexander Boecker, that in Pescetti "we find for the *first* time in any play on the subject, the Brutus-Portia scene; the suspense occasioned by the suspected discovery of the plot; the panic among the conspirators when Popilius Lena addresses Cæsar; the great prominence of the portents."¹ In regard, however, to the details in the play which seem traceable to Appian, whom Pescetti to a large extent follows, it has to be remembered that the translation of Appian (1578) was as likely to be consulted by Marlowe as by Chapman; and in regard to the portents in particular, we have seen that those which are not expressly mentioned by Plutarch are likely to have been suggested to Marlowe by Lucan's parade of the portents before the Pompeian war. Virgil and Ovid could give him yet others.

But there are points in Dr. Boecker's claim for a Pescetti influence that are undeniably striking: notably the verbal coincidence between Cinna's cry (III, i, 78):—

Liberty, freedom, tyranny is dead,

and Pescetti's line:—

Libertà, libertà, morto e il Tiranno.

¹ *A Probable Italian Source of Shakespeare's "Julius Cæsar,"* p. 9.

This is an exact line-coincidence where Appian merely gives: "Cryed they had killed a King and a Tyranne." Now, the three lines following that quoted from Cinna:

Run hence, proclaim, cry it about the streets.
Cas. Some to the common pulpits and cry out
'*Liberty, freedom, and enfranchisement,*'

which also are suggested by Pescetti, are noticeably superfluous to the later speech of Brutus, beginning "Stoop, Romans, stoop," and ending

Let's all cry '*Peace, freedom and liberty.*'

—a set of tautologies sufficiently unlikely to be Shakespeare's. It is a fair inference, then, that the Cinna and Casca lines were added by a reviser who had read Pescetti; and this reviser is most likely to have been Chapman.¹ And this general solution I offer for all the real traces of Pescetti in the play. By Dr. Boecker's own showing, they are mostly of a quite subsidiary character, apart from the claim he makes² that it was Pescetti's example that led Shakespeare to introduce Portia. Substituting Chapman for Shakespeare, we get a solution that is in keeping with all the pre-Shakespearean phenomena of the play, which the American critics have not considered.³

Pescetti's play was likely enough to be brought to England in 1594 or 1595; and in 1595 or soon after may have taken place the revision in which apparently Drayton as well as Chapman shared. At that stage, it is to be inferred, the play ended with the present third Act, which would be the fifth of the original; and the cancelled opening scene of the triumphal entry would be retained. The contemporary allusions, it must

¹ Kyd, it will be remembered, had died towards the end of 1594. Munday is the only other likely person.

² Work cited, p. 100.

³ Prof. McCallum does suggest (*Roman Plays*, p. 35) that "some forgotten English piece may have mediated between Grévin and Shakespeare," though he does not develop the idea.

always be remembered, do not indicate the existence of the present fourth and fifth Acts as part of the Cæsar play that was on the boards about 1599, though portions of those Acts seem to be clearly as early in style and diction as any of the rest, and the hand of Marlowe in particular is to be traced in them.

The most doubtful part of our theory is that which touches on the CÆSAR'S FALL of 1602, in which Drayton is known to have had a share. The disappearance of that play suggests that it also was acquired by Shakespeare's company; and then it may have been that Shakespeare revised the old sequel play, perhaps called "Cæsar's Revenge" (though quite independent of the academic play so entitled). At a later period, either about 1607 or after Shakespeare's death, there seems to have taken place that compression of the two plays into one which was argued for by Fleay, and which we have seen so many reasons for believing to have really taken place. That this compression was done by Jonson we have also seen some reason to believe. The result of all the manipulations is the "strange feeling about the style" which some of us recognise as did Fleay; and the incurably unsatisfactory handling of the central character. That the fault inhered either in the original projection or in a revision of that which magnified the conspirators seems to me as clear in the case of this play as in that of the contradictory elements in the original HAMLET. In that case, however, Shakespeare laboured so powerfully to transmute his material that he achieved a wonderful result. In this case, where nothing but a complete re-writing could have yielded a worthy whole, he took no such pains, though he laid hands on it sufficiently to explain to a large extent the general acquiescence in the traditional view that he is the sole author. There was an element of intractable difficulty, for his purposes, in the whole theme as given him. One

writer or set of writers had glorified the conspirators: another (? Drayton) had written against "conspiracy"; and an early hand had given a sinister cast to Cassius. To turn it all in favour of "the tyrant" would be to antagonise the literary tradition: to give unmixed glory to the assassins might offend the Government; and would not be to Shakespeare's taste. So he left the medley pretty much alone. The final problem is, Did he bestow something that we have lost? I think he probably did.

Taking as certain Shakespeare's hand in the speeches of Cæsar, as to which we have Jonson's testimony, we may surmise that, as the first part of the play originally stood, he presented Julius quite adequately, indicating the greatness which in the third Act is so impaired by self-worship. It would have been quite in Shakespeare's way, especially in an adaptation, to set forth in one play a rapid declension of the overworn, epileptic captain to a mental level at which he can be fooled by a traitor. As it is, he has transfigured whatsoever he laid creative hands upon, as is his wont. The stately diction and massive cadences of the speeches in which Cæsar half-deifies himself yield one of the most notable psychological effects in the drama, and savour of the great diction in *TROILUS*. A more majestic arrogance was never staged: we are faced by supreme greatness in supreme decay. Voltaire in the midst of his impeachment stops to exclaim: "Sometimes the style has an inconceivable elevation, as when Cæsar compares himself to the pole star and to Olympus"; and he pays similar homage to the "two lions littered in one day." If the earlier stages were presented with equal power, the play, ending with the speeches after the assassination, would be substantially worthy of its theme, though not wholly Shakespearean; and with a profound chagrin

¹ *Lettre à messieurs de l'Académie Française, 1776.*

do we surmise that of such work we have probably been deprived by the commercial instinct of the fellow-players and the bed of Procrustes operated by the complacent Ben. His "correction" of the bold "Cæsar doth never wrong but with just cause" tells us just how he would go about his work, taking care that Cæsar was duly minimised.

If it be argued that after all the play has been a very successful one, and that in the nineteenth century Archbishop Trench had many backers, there need be no dispute. JULIUS CÆSAR, a work of gradual development on the stage, embodying many playwrights' devices, presenting a number of remarkable and realistic personages, and above all proceeding by action instead of Jonsonian or Chapmanian narrative and declamation, acquired that general fitness for the boards that admittedly marked RICHARD III, which grew by a similar process. But who will now call *that* a quite satisfactory literary achievement? Nay, how many critics not past middle-age will now say that it contains relatively much of Shakespeare? We have seen how keen, in regard to JULIUS CÆSAR, is the dissatisfaction of some critics both at home and abroad, who are not affected by the critical limitations of the French ideal of the eighteenth century as was Voltaire. Their dispraise of necessity falls, given the traditionist view, on the dramatist himself. Proceeding by pure literary induction, we have found cause, while acknowledging the justice of the criticism, to alter its incidence. It is no part of the inspiration of these tedious inquiries to hold that the mightiest of dramatists was a faultless artist. That is one of the follies of early idolatry, inadmissible by a scientific criticism. But whatever may be the measure of error of detail in the foregoing attempts at an all-round solution, long study has left me well assured that it was not Shakespeare who set out to portray Cæsar and failed.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF "RICHARD III"

I.—THE PROBLEM INDICATED

At an early stage of chronological inquiry into the Shakespeare Canon, we must face the complicated dilemma that is set up for all students of the evolution of Shakespeare's verse technique by the sudden multitude of double-endings in RICHARD III, as compared with RICHARD II and JOHN, before which it is commonly dated. Primitive in psychology to a degree that at once and alone should put in doubt Shakespeare's original authorship, this play is for him at once metrically primitive in respect of the end-stopped character of most of the verse, and relatively late in point of its double-endings, while it is penned in a style that in nine scenes out of ten is like nothing in such undisputed early historical plays as JOHN and I HENRY IV. How is the fourfold dilemma to be solved?

The first Quarto, which bears no author's name, and which gives the text substantially as we have it, appeared in 1597; but there is general agreement that the play must have existed years before. Only there is no common recognition of the perplexities involved in the chronology. In 1880, Dr. W. Aldis Wright, leaning to the common conjecture that it should be dated 1593 or 1594, and to the view that in style and stagecraft it is earlier than RICHARD II and JOHN, wrote that "The metrical tests which have been applied to solve the question of the date of composition would place RICHARD III and JOHN very close together, and would make RICHARD II earlier than either"—disclaiming for himself any "very confident opinion."¹ It is impossible

¹ Introd. to Clar. Press ed., pref. p. v.

to divine what metrical test can have been so spoken of. It cannot have been that of double-endings. Fleay's first count, in the *MANUAL*, gave for this play 16 per cent. This he afterwards raised¹ to 19·4.² König's count gives 19·5, so that both would place the play, for Shakespeare, much later than *JOHN* (6·5) and *I HENRY IV* (5·1) and *RICHARD II* (11·0)—later even than the *MERCHANT* (17·6). Yet the percentage of run-on lines, by König's count, is in our play only 13·1, while in *JOHN* it is 17·7, and in *RICHARD II* 19·9. In this aspect its nearest neighbours are *TITUS* (12·0), the *ERRORS* (12·9), the *TWO GENTLEMEN* (12·4), the *DREAM* (13·2), and *ROMEO* (14·2). By neither of the two capital verse tests, then, is the claim cited by Dr. Wright at all countenanced. Yet he has nothing further to say on the subject.

Later editing, though recognisant of other problems not noticed by Dr. Wright, continues to miss the problem set up by the metrical phenomena. In his able and scholarly edition of the play in the "Arden" series, Mr. A. H. Thompson, with a bare allusion to the metrical tests, puts it "among Shakespeare's earliest" on the score of style, not asking how on that view its double endings are to be explained. He does, however, recognise a general problem as to the authorship, such a problem having indeed been vigorously broached long ago:—

"*RICHARD III*, dramatically as well as historically, is a sequel to the three parts of *HENRY VI*, in which Shakespeare's share is generally admitted to have been that of a reviser. The question naturally arises whether Shakespeare was the author of *RICHARD III*, or merely the editor and reviser of a sequel to those plays on which he had been engaged previously. Mr. Daniel holds that the play was really the work of the author of the *HENRY VI* plays, and was revised by Shakespeare. Mr. Fleay looks upon it as a Shakespearean recension and completion of an unfinished play by Marlowe, so thorough that any distinction between the original text and the

¹ In Ingleby's *Shakespeare: The Man and the Book*, Pt. ii.

² For the Folio. 18·8 for the Quarto.

revision is impossible. The only considerations on which an answer can be founded depend upon the style and date of the drama.

"(1) The evidence of style places RICHARD III, *beyond all doubt, among Shakespeare's earliest plays.*¹ Apart from the ordinary metrical tests, which, applied whether to Q or F, do not differ materially in the result, the verse has everywhere the rhetorical accent with which Marlowe has stamped the language of the stage. The spirit of the verse is in keeping with its accent. *No passage can be singled out as an example of that vein of reflective sentiment which, at a not much later date, Shakespeare expressed with so great a command of imagery.* . . . Richard's soliloquies in I, i, and I, ii, are clearly the work of the hand which was responsible for his soliloquies in 3 HENRY VI, III, ii, and v, vi. He declares his aim in the vigorous rhythm which Marlowe makes his heroes use. . . These speeches, indeed, might have been written by Marlowe in a restrained mood. . . On the other hand, they have not that depth of living passion which Marlowe sounds in Tamburlaine's rhapsody on Divine Zenocrate, or in that last soliloquy of Faustus. And, as a matter of fact, where Marlowe worked, as in EDWARD II, with greater self-restraint, his style has not much in common with that of RICHARD III."² . . .

"If we allow Shakespeare to have had *any part* in the play, then RICHARD III, whatever may be its debt to older material, *shows witness of his hand* at a time when he has reached the stage of untrammelled expression, but is still partly dependent on his models for the form that his work takes. . . . The declamatory vigour of RICHARD III gathers fresh life in the complaints of Constance and the ecstasies of Romeo and Juliet. Its echo is still audible in the balanced melody of the plays of Shakespeare's middle life."³ . . .

II.—THE FIRST CRUX

In this judicial estimate we have the fullest admission yet made, since Daniel and Fleay and Ward, of the generally non-Shakespearean aspect of RICHARD III, yet with a leaning to the compromise, accepted by Sir Sidney Lee,⁴ of pronouncing it to be Shakespearean albeit under Marlowe's influence. To that compromise we are bound

¹ The italics throughout are ours.

² There appears to be a self-contradiction in this passage. Two sentences before, the *Richard III* soliloquies are said to show restraint.

³ Introd. to *Richard III*, "Arden" ed., pp. xvi-xviii.

⁴ *Life of Shakespeare*, ed. 1915, p. 123.

to take exception, on three grounds. In the first place, the play contains *some* matter which is distinctly early-Shakespearean, and not at all Marlowese: in the second place, it exhibits both the "restrained" and the freer styles of Marlowe; and in the third place the critical compromise in all its forms leaves unsolved the problem of the abundant double-endings. On the first head, let the reader turn to Act III, sc. vii, and note the series of long speeches between Buckingham and Gloucester, from line 117 onwards:—

Then know, it is your fault that you resign
 The supreme seat, the throne majestic,
 The scepter'd office of your ancestors,
 Your state of fortune and your due of birth,
 The lineal glory of your royal house,
 To the corruption of a blemish'd stock.
 Whilst, in the mildness of your sleepy thoughts,
 Which here we waken to our country's good,
 This noble isle doth want her proper limbs
 Which to recure, we heartily solicit
 Your gracious self to take on you the charge
 And kingly government of this your land,
 Not as protector, steward, substitute
 Or lowly factor for another's gain. . . .

Glou. I know not whether to depart in silence
 Or bitterly to speak in your reproof
 Best fitteth my degree or your condition:
 If not to answer, you might haply think
 Tongue-tied ambition, not replying, yielded
 To bear the golden yoke of sovereignty. . . .

The ten lines beginning "If not to answer" appear only in the Folio, but they are so nearly of a piece with the rest that they may have been written at the same time and retrenched for acting. Here, without a trace of the style of Marlowe, we have in effect the style of the Shakespeare of KING JOHN and 1 HENRY IV. To turn from it to the soliloquy which opens the play is to realise that we are dealing with different hands, unless we are to believe that Shakespeare, framing speeches

for the same personage, wrote alternately in the most calculated Marlowese and in his own manner—the manner continuously developed from the opening speech of the ERRORS, and from the DREAM, through JOHN and ROMEO and 1 HENRY IV to the serious comedies and the great tragedies. In none of those plays does Shakespeare copy Marlowe's style; and he does not copy it now. In Richard's reply to Buckingham's appeal there is not a sign of debt to models: the psychology and the style are alike Shakespeare's own. What is more, the 57 lines of the two speeches above quoted from contain only eight double-endings, or 14 per cent.; whereas the opening scene of the play has 37 double-endings to 156 blank lines, or 23 per cent. A passage of 57 lines cannot yield a firm induction, but *pro tanto* we may take it as a clue to date. The Shakespearean part, then, would in strict statistical order stand later than RICHARD II, which as a whole has 11.8 per cent., and somewhere between 1 and 2 HENRY IV. The rate of 14 per cent. is yielded by the whole scene from the starting point taken; but in the later speeches the style varies, and the two under notice are alone to be stressed as purely Shakespearean. By the test of run-on lines, again, we get substantially the same result, the percentage being higher than that of RICHARD II and nearly that of 1 HENRY IV. Broadly speaking, the style under notice is that of the early historical plays. Mr. Thompson's general view, recognising definitely a Marlowe influence, and by implication a Marlowe element continuous with that avowed to exist in 3 HENRY VI, seems to call for a date not later than 1593, seeing that nothing later could be reckoned among Shakespeare's "very earliest" stage-work—though the expression "very earliest *plays*" may fairly be construed to give a later date. But the verse above cited clearly does not belong to Shakespeare's "very

earliest"; and how we can put under that category scenes with 23 per cent. of double-endings I cannot conceive. Neither origination nor revision by Shakespeare about 1593 will account for the facts of style and metre.

III.—MARLOWE MATTER?

In view of the latter-day critical consensus as to the Marlowe *element* in the play, it is reasonable to posit the hypothesis of Marlowe's primary or main authorship and see how it bears the tests. There are indeed other styles than his and Shakespeare's in the play; and it may have been the non-recognition of this by Daniel and Fleay that left their theory or theories unsatisfying; but Marlowe's style is throughout predominant. The opening is recognisably his. A beginning by soliloquy marks each of Marlowe's three chief surviving plays after TAMBURLAINE; and in each, as here, the soliloquy serves as a presentment of the character. And Richard is but a variant of Guise, whose soliloquy comes in the second scene of the MASSACRE. As Mr. Thompson admits, further, the portrait must be held to come from the hand that penned the soliloquies of Gloster in the DUKE OF YORK. It is exactly in their vein, which may be thus sampled:—

I will go clad my body in gay ornaments,
And lull myself within a lady's lap.
Oh monstrous man to harbour such a thought!
Why, love did scorn me in my mother's womb;
And for I should not deal in her affairs
She did corrupt frail nature in the flesh,
And placed an envious mountain on my back. . . .

Tut, I can smile, and murder when I smile,
I cry content to that that grieves me most.
I can add colours to theameleon,
And for a need change shapes with Proteus,
And set the aspiring Catiline to school!

To credit Shakespeare with the opening speech of RICHARD III is to saddle him not merely with a servile copy of the previous work (a duplication of his own, on the theory of White and Knight), but with a positive heightening of its crudity in the lines:—

I am determinèd to prove a villain. . .
As I am subtle, false and treacherous.

—a mode of character presentment which tells that Marlowe at this point was not continuing his previous rapid advance in artistic development. He was but following the cue of the old TRUE TRAGEDIE OF RICHARD III.¹ Already in EDWARD II (II, i) Young Spencer had announced himself as “Apt for any kind of villany”; and Richard is a facile magnification of that conception, exhibited also in Guise. But the clinching disproof of Shakespeare’s connection with the portrait is just the verse.² *That* is vigorous enough, with the vigour of Guise’s soliloquy and the opening of the JEW—a movement which is above all *athletic*, a play of power and resonance yielding a verse which is never winged. So markedly is the line end-stopped that we might wonder whether this could be the late Marlowe were it not for the high proportion of double-endings. Late it must be, for Marlowe; and Marlowe it must be, for the Shakespeare who used double-endings to anything like that extent is the Shakespeare of TROILUS, to whom it was impossible to keep his line at the same time thus end-stopped. And, what is more, the *timbre* of the verse is vitally different from his, as

¹ It has been suggested (G. B. Churchill, cited by Dr. C. V. Boyer, *The Villain as Hero in Elizabethan Tragedy*, 1914, p. 76) that the *True Tragedie* shows the influence of *Tamburlaine*. This is arguable, but the adoption of the old figure by Marlowe in the *Duke of York* goes far to prove that it was the creation of the older play. Parts of that are in the old “fourteener” metre. I offer the hypothesis of an actors’ play as basis, with later developments by Kyd and Peele.

² Andrew Lang in his *History of English Literature*, 1912, p. 217, pronounced that in the Dream of Clarence we undergo the magic of Shakespeare’s versification. This is but an ascription to Shakespeare of the charm of this particular verse. But it is *not* the verse of the Shakespeare of our knowledge.

different as that of a brass instrument from that of a violin. The Shakespeare of the early Sonnets could not have written so tumultuous a line as:—

I will go clad my body in gay ornaments.

One wonders indeed whether Marlowe did; for the hypermetrical "go" is unnecessary to the sense; and in *DIDO* (v, i, 5-6) we have:—

For I will grace them with a fairer frame,
And *clad her* in a crystal livery.

The 3 *HENRY VI* revision of the *DUKE OF YORK* alters the line to

I will deck my body in gay ornaments,

which echoes a line in Kyd's *SOLIMAN AND PERSEDA* (ii, i, 145) and suggests a later hand than Marlowe's, though the expansions¹ of the speeches of the old play are in general very much in his manner. The inference is that he revised the old work for Shakespeare's Company in 1592, and then proceeded to shape a *RICHARD III* in which he re-cast the sketches of the Gloster he had already created. And if it be argued that Shakespeare altered the "go clad" to "deck," it cannot at the same time be supposed that he wrote the line:

I that am rudely stamped, and want love's majesty,

which is either a bad alexandrine or a highly hypermetrical pentameter, and is as distinctly Marlovian² as the whole striding progression and the elementary psychology. Produced by Shakespeare, the speech would be a parody that amounted either to wilful burlesque or to abject imitation.

¹ These may of course be in some cases mere restorations of the original text. The text of the *Contention* and the *Duke of York* may have been curtailed for provincial tours and published from the curtailed MSS. as has been shown by Messrs. Pollard and Dover Wilson to have happened in the case of several Shakespeare quartos.

² Compare the lines with triple-endings in Guise's soliloquy.

IV.—HEYWOOD MATTER?

When we say "Marlowe it must be," thereby committing ourselves to Marlowe as inferably the first to multiply the double-ending in tragedy up to and above 20 per cent., we are not merely arguing that none of the other pre-Shakespeareans could have so reproduced Marlowe's swing and stride, but denying that the soliloquy can come from Heywood, whom there is some reason to think a probable reviser of the HENRY VI plays, and who seems to have had a hand in this also. In the scene of Richard and Elizabeth in the fourth Act, much of the diction and versification seems neither Shakespearean nor Marlovian, though there is an apparent Marlowe basis; and some of the verbal and phraseological clues, as well as the high proportion of double-endings, suggest Heywood.¹ But there are earlier traces of him. The absolute doubling of part of the action of RICHARD III in 2 EDWARD IV must apparently be set down to him: in any case the latter play must be provisionally held to do the copying: otherwise we charge Shakespeare with following not merely Marlowe's style but the juvenile Heywood's scenes—or, let us say, scenes produced by another playwright who already, before 1594, had carried the double-ending to 24 per cent. It seems unnecessary to debate such improbabilities. The work in 2 EDWARD IV, on the other hand, can be perfectly understood as produced by Heywood after 1594, with the Marlowe influence still strong upon him.

For the purposes of this enquiry I shall assume, despite Fleay's not unjustifiable doubts, that Heywood

¹ It may be worth noting that among Heywood's Prologues and Epilogues are a pair (Pearson, vi, 352) with the heading:

"A young witty Lad playing the part of Richard the Third at the Red Bull: the Author because he was interested in the play, to encourage him, wrote him this Prologue and Epilogue."

But "interested in the play" carries no definite avowal of part authorship.

is the main author of the EDWARD IV plays. For the attribution, indeed, there is only traditional authority on the documentary side, as the old editions bear no name; and when we find the BIOGRAPHIA DRAMATICA assigning to Heywood at the same time the two plays on Robert Earl of Huntington, which from Henslowe's Diary we know to be the work of Munday and Chettle, the authority is obviously discounted. But there are internal grounds for holding that Heywood had at least a share in the EDWARD IV plays; and seeing that such an authority as Dr. W. W. Greg¹ on those grounds declaring confidently for Heywood's authorship of Part I, we may usefully proceed on the assumption; though it may be well to keep in view such a possibility as that Kyd may have had a share in the composition. The fact that we shall find in Heywood's signed plays, and in APPIUS AND VIRGINIA, rightly assigned to him by Rupert Brooke, evidence that tends to connect him with RICHARD III, strengthens the case for his authorship. That there *is* a connection between it and the EDWARD IV plays is quite obvious. The author not only knows the RICHARD III text, but works in its key. He is a docile imitator.

I am a true-stampt villain as ever lived

says his Richard, aside, in his speech to Clarence at Crosby Place (2 EDWARD IV, II, iii). In the preceding scene there are 18 double-endings to 170 lines—11 per cent.: in this scene there are 27 in 110—24.5 per cent. We may reasonably infer a revision which embodied the "G" prophecy matter, and much else, from RICHARD III. Heywood's Richard is at this point an unpretending copy of Marlowe's.

It is at other points that we are led to question whether Heywood's ostensible hardy borrowings in 2 EDWARD IV were held by him to be balanced by matter contributed

¹ Ed. of *Henslowe's Diary*.

by him to RICHARD III. When we read in the former play (III, v) Tyrrell's confession :—

I have put my hand unto the foulest murder
That ever was committed since the world,

we naturally tend to see in it another straightforward echo, from the Tyrrell of RICHARD III :—

The *most arch* deed of piteous massacre
That ever yet this land was guilty of . . .
The most replenished sweet work of nature
That *from the prime creation* e'er she framed.

But in this case, be it observed, there is only one double-ending in the speech in 2 EDWARD IV, while in the other there are five in 23 lines. The EDWARD IV speech, that is to say, is presumably in an earlier technique ; while the diction of the other is as unlike Marlowe or Shakespeare as it is like Heywood ; and its effect is that of a purposely heightened reproduction of the other, without any new inspiration. The method of “ ‘ Lo thus,’ quoth Dighton,” and “ ‘ Thus, thus,’ quoth Forrest,” is not that of a greater poet than Heywood : it is that of the facile workman trying to put a more dramatic ring into the episode. If the speech in EDWARD IV were the copy, it would be a reversion to a less elaborate manner, as well as to an earlier technique, by one quite capable of the other. We are led, then, to surmise that while the speech in 2 EDWARD IV may have copied one in the Marlowe RICHARD III, that which we now find there is a later revision of his own work by Heywood for RICHARD III. But the point is obscure.

When we are confessedly dealing with an imitator, it is of course specially difficult to outline exactly his share. The admitted dramatic effectiveness of RICHARD III, founded as it was on the old TRUE TRAGEDIE OF RICHARD THE THIRD, planned by actors, is probably the result of an amount of planning and rearrangement never attempted by Marlowe in any previous play of his ;

and we may here and there, perhaps, detect details in the process. For instance, in Act I, scene i, the dialogue of Richard and Brakenbury from line 88 to 102 inclusive is parenthetical, line 103 and the next being a rewording of line 84 and its sequel. In this apparently interpolated matter we have the line:—

Well struck in years, fair, and not jealous—

the trisyllable pronunciation of "jealous," found in Kyd and in Heywood, but nowhere in Marlowe, and nowhere else in Shakespeare, despite the prevalence of the *spelling* "jealous" in the Folio.¹ In 2 EDWARD IV we have it in the scene at Crosby Place:—

He may as well apply it ("G.") into Gloster,
My dukedom's name, if he be jealous (*read* jealous).

This trisyllabic scansion of *jealous* occurs also in Heywood's signed work,² though he scans it sometimes as a dissyllable; and when we note that in his lines on the theatre prefixed to his APOLOGY FOR ACTORS he gives *theatre* the normal pronunciation and also makes it rhyme with *traitor*, we have no cause to doubt his presence in the EDWARD IV line. It is further noteworthy that the uncommon idiom "struck in years," occurring in the same line in the RICHARD III speech, is found in APPIUS AND VIRGINIA (II, ii). On the other hand, the neighbouring line:—

A cherry lip, a bonny eye, a passing pleasing tongue,
resembles somewhat one in Marlowe's part of HERO AND LEANDER (i, 85):—

A pleasant-smiling cheek, a speaking eye.

¹ It occurs in the first Quarto of *Hamlet*—in a remnant of Kyd's matter. See *The Problem of "Hamlet,"* p. 37.

² *If You Know not me, You Know Nobody* (Pearson, i, 308); *A Maidenhead Well Lost* (Pearson, iv, 152).

V.—KYD MATTER?

There is the alternative hypothesis of an original collaboration by Kyd, who has the tri-syllabic pronunciation of "jealous" in the SPANISH TRAGEDY and four times in ARDEN OF FEVERSHAM; and in scene ii, at the outset, we come to a style and diction that might very well be Kyd's, and do not at all suggest Marlowe. Such lines as

Thou bloodless remnant of that royal blood
and those ensuing, recall Kyd more obviously than they do anyone else; and these:—

O cursèd be the hand that made these holes!
Cursèd the heart that had the heart to do it!
Cursèd the blood that let this blood from hence!

insistently remind us of those in the SPANISH TRAGEDY:

Then rest we here awhile in our unrest.

Here lay my hope, and here my hope hath end;
Here lay my heart, and here my heart was slain.

Which pleasing words do harbour sweet conceits,
Which sweet conceits are lim'd with sly deceits,
Which sly deceits smooth Bellimperia's ears.

Woe to the cause of these constrained wars,
Woe to thy baseness and captivity,
Woe to thy birth, thy body, and thy soul.

Talk not of chords, but let us now be gone,
For with a cord Horatio was slain.

And there are other reasons for surmising a literary connection between Marlowe and Kyd. To begin with, we have the documentary record of their personal association, elicited in Kyd's not very creditable answers to the questions put to him at the time of the proposed prosecution of Marlowe for blasphemy, just before his death.¹ Such temporary intimacy may at least give a ground for considering the hypothesis,² strongly

¹ See Mr. Boas' introduction to Kyd's works, 1901, pp. lxxv-lxxiii.

² Above, p. 24, note.

suggested by the textual phenomena, that parts of the speeches of Mycetes in I, i, and II, i, of the First Part of TAMBURLAINE are really insertions by Kyd, intended to relieve the rhetorical outsets of Marlowe by touches of "character" in the stage sense. In 3 HENRY VI, again, there are a number of clues of style and phrase to Kyd, which raise a presumption of his entrance there, and set up the question of his possible collaboration in the earlier plays of the series.

But there is a yet more definite ground for inferring collaboration between Marlowe and Kyd. In EDWARD III, a share of which, and probably the origination, must be assigned to Marlowe, we have either a close and deliberate reproduction of Kyd's diction and manner or a contribution by him. In the description of a land-battle in the SPANISH TRAGEDY¹ (I, i), setting out with a run of five lines all beginning with "both," we have this:—

Here falls a body sunder'd from his head
There legs and arms lie bleeding on the grass.

In the description of the sea fight in EDWARD III (III, i), where we have:—

Both full of angry spleen, of hope and fear,
we find this virtual reduplication (II, 165-6):—

Here flew a head, dissever'd from the trunk;
There mangled arms and legs were tossed aloft.

The versification is absolutely the same in the two descriptions—end-stopped lines (only one run-on line in each) and no double-endings. The work is equally unlike Marlowe, Greene, and Peele; and we cannot plausibly assign it to any but Kyd. Other speeches, notably the earlier speech of the Mariner in the same Act, and one in Act V, seem to point to the same author. And since Kyd in his SOLIMAN AND PERSEDA, as in his version of CORNELIA (end of 1593), shows himself quite

¹ This, as Prof. Boas notes, is imitated from the Messenger's speech in Garnier's *Cornélie*, later translated by Kyd.

ready to multiply the double-ending, we are led once more to put EDWARD III about 1590, and to confirm the hypothesis that Greene's revision of the Countess episode,¹ as it stands, is later.

In the opening speech of Anne in Act I, scene ii, of RICHARD III, there are only two double-endings in 32 lines, another ground for surmising another hand than that of Marlowe, which begins the play with a high percentage. This work seems to me to be Kyd's. It is in the subsequent dialogue between Richard and Anne, which most readers, probably, would refuse to ascribe to Kyd, that the double-endings multiply. But it is at the outset of that dialogue that we have the anticipation of a line in HAMLET:—

Villains, set down the corse, or, by Saint Paul,
I'll make a corse of him that disobeys;

Now, Kyd's HAMLET, the basis of Shakespeare's, is to be dated before 1590; and it may have been that the

By heaven, I'll make a ghost of him that lets me,
which is found in the first Quarto, existed in that. But though the diction of Anne's speech of execration (ll. 50-77), and in particular the crudely iterative quality of some lines (60-63), still seem to tell of Kyd's presence, nothing that we know of Kyd's entitles us to ascribe to him the whole of the dialogue before us, to say nothing of Richard's final soliloquy, which seems pure Marlowe. And that the conception of the scene is Marlowe's we may infer from a line in HERO AND LEANDER (I, 332):—

Women are won when they begin to jar.

Further, the parallel between the phrase (I, ii, 81) "fairer than tongue can name thee" and the line:

More gracious than my words can let thee be
in EDWARD III (I, ii, 160), points to Marlowe inasmuch

¹ See *Did Shakespeare write "Titus Andronicus?"* pp. 143-172.

as the former again connects with the EDWARD III line (II, i, 85):—

Devise for fair a fairer word than fair;

and that again points to the TAMBURLAINE line (Pt. II, v, ii):

Fair is too foul an epithet for thee;

though one of the EDWARD III lines may be an imitation of Marlowe by Greene.

Here, however, should be noted still further possibilities of imitation. Kyd imitates Marlowe repeatedly in ARDEN; and he may either have been imitating him here or penning a scene which Marlowe himself afterwards expanded. There is to be recognised, that is to say, the possibility that Kyd may have begun a RICHARD III play on his own account, and that he and Marlowe may have joined forces. Historically, the death of Henry VI had actually taken place seven years before the imprisonment of Clarence; yet here we find the later event placed before the other. Richard had been wedded to Anne for six years at the time at which he is here represented as capturing her. As the funeral scene would have served to begin a play, and the wording of Anne's opening speech is carefully explanatory, we should keep in view that it may have been so planned. Kyd's, I think, is one of the hands that added blank verse speeches to the primary TRUE TRAGEDIE, and the subject would appeal to him as to any other practical playwright of the time. But it lay in the situation that when Marlowe took it up, especially after he had handled Richard in the York and Lancaster plays, he should dominate it.

VI.—QUEEN MARGARET, MARLOWE'S

Assigning to Marlowe, then, the main conduct of Richard's part, while recognizing the entrance of Shakespeare in Act III, scene vii, we may also ascribe

to the first poet the part of Margaret, already prominent in the chronicle plays; though it is hard to believe that it was Marlowe who resorted to the feeble device by which Margaret is made out to be cursed by herself. The scene as a whole is extravagantly impossible: that touch makes it childish; yet, like the recriminations of the Yorkists, the declamation of Margaret is quite Marlovian. The word "abortive," noted by Mr. Hart as peculiarly used in 2 HENRY VI (IV, i, 60), is probably Marlowe's both there and here (I, iii, 228), seeing that we have "my abortive son" in 2 TAMBURLAINE (IV, iv), to convey the same sense of "unnatural" or "misbegotten." Still, the use of the word in Anne's speech (I, ii, 21), which we have noted as deviating in technique from what precedes and follows, might be Kyd's. In his Mariner's speech in EDWARD III he uses the word "dissever'd," which is probably echoed from Marlowe;¹ and he may have caught up "abortive" as did Heywood and Chapman. This is obviously not a claim to be stressed; but I will add the general proposition that throughout the second Act after scene i there are hints of the method and manner of Kyd, under what may be revision by another. Scene iv, with its pedestrian style and realism of detail, seems to me to be more in his manner than in that of any contemporary, and in the main impossible alike for Marlowe and for Shakespeare.

VII.—CLARENCE'S DREAM, MARLOWE'S

To Marlowe, however, we are bound to assign Clarence's dream (I, iv). No one else could dispute it with Shakespeare, on the score of sheer poetic power; and the verse is not Shakespeare's. In Greene's ALPHONSUS, the dream of Carinus (IV, ii), which is distinctly above the general level of that poor play, might

¹ 1 *Tamb.*, v, ii; *Jew.*, v, iv; "Dismember" occurs thrice in *Tamburlaine*.

have given the hint for this; but Clarence's dream is not only far above Greene in point of poetic and descriptive force, it is assignable to Marlowe on the score of several plain marks. The lines:—

*Wedges of gold, great anchors, heaps of pearl,
Inestimable stones, unvalued jewels,
All scattered in the bottom of the sea,*

ring of many of his:—

Lay out our *golden wedges* to the view.

1 Tamb., i, ii.

Lading their ships with gold and precious stones.

Id. ib.

Costly jewels . . . precious jewels . . . shining stones.

Id. i, i.

Heaps of gold. Id. i, ii.

Well fare the Arabians, who so richly pay

The things they traffic for with *wedge of gold.*

Jew of Malta, i, i.

And in his house *heap pearl* like pebble stones. . . .

Bags of fiery opals, sapphires, amethysts. . . .

And seld-seen *costly stones of so great price.* . . .

Id. ib.

The waves about him wound

And pulled him to *the bottom*, where the ground

Was *strewn with pearl*, and in low coral groves

Sweet-singing mermaids sported with their loves

On *heaps of heavy gold*, and took great pleasure

To spurn in careless sort the shipwreckt treasure.

Hero and Leander, 2nd Sestiad, ll. 159-164.

This *inestimable gem.*

Id. ib, i, 75.

His admiring eyes more pleasure took

Than Dis on *heaps of gold* fixing his look.

Id. ib. i, 326.

The gold, the pearl, the jewels. . . .

Jew of Malta, ii, i, 23.

Lo, here, my sons, are all the golden mines

Inestimable drugs and precious stones. . . .

Rocks of pearl

2 Tamb., v, iii.

Even the lost anchors, a familiar item in Elizabethan navigation, recur in DIDO (III, i); and the subject of shipwrecked treasure yet again in FAUSTUS (I, ii):—

The Spirits tell me they can dry the sea,
And fetch the treasure of all foreign wrecks.

And there are minor verbal echoes, such as "wandering air," recalling "wandering main" (trans. of LUCAN, I. 415) and "moving air" (FAUSTUS I, iii); "false, fleeting, perjured Clarence," recalling "false, credulous, inconstant Abigail" (JEW, III, iv). Similar echoes occur in Richard's opening soliloquy. Compare, for instance, the lines:—

And now, instead of mounting barbèd steeds
To fright the souls of fearful adversaries,
He *capers* nimbly in a *lady's* chamber,
To the *lascivious* pleasing of a *lute*,

and

But *I that am not shaped for sportive tricks,*
with these in TAMBURLAINE:—

They are too dainty for the wars,
Their fingers made to *quaver on a lute*,
Their arms to hang *about a lady's neck*
2 *Tamb.*, I, iii;

and these in the verses signed "Ignoto":—¹

I am not fashioned for these amorous times,
To court thy beauty with lascivious rhymes:
I cannot dally, caper,² dance and sing.³

¹ Mr. Thompson (Intro., p. xix) cites these lines (from the 1596 volume of verses assigned to "J. D. and C. M.") as imitated from *Richard III*. But the natural inference is surely that in them "C.M." is echoing himself.

² *Caper* recurs in 2 *Tamburlaine*, III, ii, 61.

³ This parallel passage is noted by Dr. W. A. Wright in 1880 as having been previously cited. Of necessity he could offer no solution—beyond pointing out that the "Ignoto" verses occur in a volume "only supposed to have been printed before 1596." Of course if they are denied to be Marlowe's that objection would hold. But we have the same thought in 2 *Tamb.*, as above cited. Dr. Wright further cites from Mr. Stokes two parallels, of which one is noteworthy. The lines:

Now is the hour come
To put your love unto the touch, and try
If it be current or base counterfeit,

found in the *Warning for Faire Women* (ll. 1553-5: Simpson's *School of Shakespeare*, ii. 329) clearly echo *Richard III*, IV, ii, 9. But Dr. Wright mis-

Again, the lines :—

Our bruised arms *hung up for monuments* . . .
Our dreadful marches to *delightful measures*

point to these :—

To move unto the *measures of delight*,
(*Dido*, iv, iv, end);

Are not thy bills *hung up as monuments?*
(*Faustus*, i, i, 18).

and the style test always bears out the phrasal clue.

The hand of Shakespeare, I think, enters into Brakenbury's short speech made while Clarence sleeps—one of several brief strains of finer music found at intervals in the play. But it is only an interlude. Following the broad movement of the style, we trace the first hand recurrently throughout the Act. At times partial changes suggest another hand; and some may at times think of Shakespeare; but not to him, surely, would anyone assign such lines as :—

So do I ever: (*Aside*) being well advised,
For had I cursèd now, I had cursèd myself.

I do the wrong, and first begin to brawl.
The secret mischiefs that I set abroad
I lay unto the grievous charge of others. . . .

And thus I clothe my naked villany
With odds and ends stolen out of holy writ;
And seem a saint when most I play the devil.

It is needless here to check vocabulary. This was never Shakespeare's way of writing or psychologising: and it is Marlowe's way, the way of Guise's

I execute, and he sustains the blame—

a kind of self-announcement that goes back to the primary TRUE TRAGEDIE OF RICHARD III. That in turn

takenly dates the *Warning* 1589, whereas it was published only in 1599, and though doubtless written years before, is not known to be earlier than 1593. Thus, even if we credit the passage to Kyd, it may stand for an imitation. Fleay's comparison of the wooing of Estrild in *Lochrine* (iv, i) to the wooing of Anne in *Richard III* does not affect the problem either, for *Lochrine* was published only in 1595. But the parallel is not verbally close.

derives from the old morality or miracle play,¹ in which King Herod was doubtless as fascinating in his dramatic day as Crookback in his. The method, however, had been adopted in the SPANISH TRAGEDY, where (I, iii, end) Kyd makes Villuppo say :

Thus have I with an envious forged tale
Deceived the king, betray'd mine enemy,
And hope for guerdon of my villany ;

and Lorenzo (III, iv, 37) similarly declares himself :—

I lay the plot: he prosecutes the point
I set the trap: he breaks the worthless twigs.

If the lines last above cited from RICHARD III are not Marlowe's, they are Kyd's : Shakespeare's they certainly are not.

VIII.—FURTHER MARLOWE CLUES

The lower key of the opening of the second Act of our play is still probably Marlowe's : it is not Shakespeare's, though probably there will be a strong disposition to assign to him King Edward's speech :—

Have I a tongue to doom my brother's death.

But that is at most an elaboration of Marlowe's matter. Such a line as :—

All thin and naked, to the numb cold night,
is non-Shakespearean, and points to the line :—

Even like a stony image, *cold* and *numb*,
in TITUS (III, i, 259) which also is non-Shakespearean ;
and

Yet are these feet, whose strengthless stay is *numb*,
in I HENRY VI (II, v, 13), which is in the same case. The two latter somewhat suggest Peele ; but the speech in RICHARD III, and perhaps those in TITUS and I HENRY VI, are above Peele's level ; and again we are

¹ It is habitual in the Chinese drama.

led to Marlowe, working in the vein of primary pathos which he struck in EDWARD II, where we have (v, v):—

My mind's distempered, and my body's *numbed*.

In HERO AND LEANDER, again (ii, 246) we have:—

Though *numbing cold*, all feeble, faint, and wan;
and in the Lucan translation (l. 196):—

And faintness *numb'd* his steps there on the brink;
where the verb is not given by the original:

gressumque coërcens
Languor in extrema tenuit vestigia ripa.

Still more definitely un-Shakespearean are the later lines of the Queen:—

Give me no help in lamentation;
I am not barren to bring forth complaints;
All springs *reduce* their currents to mine eyes,
That I, being governed by the watery moon,
May send forth plenteous tears to drown the world.
Ah, for my husband, for my dear lord Edward!

The iterative lines which follow, here as so often elsewhere in the play, do not suggest Marlowe; and these do so only at points. "Reduce," in this general sense of "lead back" was an established Tudor word, often found in Foxe, but not very often in drama. In the Shakespeare concordance it occurs only in this play (twice) and in HENRY V, in a scene (I, ii) with 34 double-endings to 135 lines of verse—the rest being the spurious courtship scene of Henry and Katharine in prose. This proportion of double-endings is so far above that of the certainly Shakespearean matter in the play as to put the whole in suspicion, though some of the diction would readily pass. Now this "reduce" is a word of Marlowe's:—

Reduce we all our lessons unto this,
To die, sweet Spencer.

Edward II, IV, vi, near end;¹

¹ The "reduce" in *The Jew*, I, ii, may be as Dyce suggested, a misprint for "redress."

and it is not found anywhere in Kyd's known work, save in the phrase "reduced the towns to his obedience"¹—which does not carry the sense in question, though it has a kindred meaning. The first cited passage from Marlowe comes close to the line in the Queen's speech in *RICHARD III*; and the second use of the word in that play (v, v, 35) with the force of "call back," is equally close to that in the *JEW*. Between Marlowe and Kyd the choice here apparently must lie, unless we surmise the presence of Heywood or yet another. And the balance of the verbal if not of the style clues seems to lie strongly towards Marlowe, here and to the close of scene ii of Act II.

The third scene raises a fresh problem. The speeches of the third citizen, notably the last, commonly pass as quite Shakespearean, with a derivation from Holinshed :

By a *divine instinct* men's minds mistrust
Ensuing danger; as, by proof, we see
The waters swell before a boisterous storm.

There can be no question about the echo from Holinshed²; but the tag "divine instinct" (Holinshed has only "secret instinct") is found repeatedly in both Lodge and Heywood; and the apparent traces of Heywood in other parts of the play raise the question of his possible presence here. So much of the later parts of the play savour of a revision and expansion by him upon a Marlovian basis that I am disposed to leave this scene an open question, since it does not clearly repel, as does most of the play, the ascription of Shakespeare's touch.

¹ Argument to *Cornelia*.

² See *Shakspeare's Holinshed*, by W. G. Boswell-Stone, 1896, p. 353.

IX.—MARLOWE AND SHAKESPEARE
TOUCHES

In Act III, with its close-packed action, there are grounds for surmising continued collaboration of Marlowe and Kyd, though everywhere Marlowe's diction appears to prevail. For instance, the unusual word *disgracious*, which occurs in this Act and in the next, but nowhere else in the Shakespeare plays, is used by Kyd (S. AND P., II, i, 143). Shakespeare's hand may enter as reviser at several points; but it is not till scene vii, in the speeches of Buckingham and Richard before cited, that we can be quite sure of it. Revision may be again surmised in the speeches of the Queens in Act IV, scene i; and his is perhaps the likeliest hand to have written that of Queen Elizabeth, found only in the Folio :—

Stay, yet look back with me unto the Tower.—
Pity, you ancient stones, those tender babes
Whom envy hath immured within your walls,
Rough cradle for such little pretty ones.
Rude ragged nurse, old sullen playfellow
For tender princes, use my babies well!
So foolish sorrow bids your stones farewell;

Marlowe indeed has "ragged stony walls" in EDWARD II (III, i, near end); and "ragged heaps of stone" in EDWARD III (v, i, 204) seems to be from his hand.¹ But this little speech is almost certainly an addition made after 1597. It was very unlikely to be dropped from the original stage version had it been there. Again, in Queen Elizabeth's similar speech in scene iv, the "Hover about me with your airy wings" recalls HAMLET, III, iv, 103. But Marlowe too has :

I see an angel hover o'er thy head,

¹ *Ragged* here has the force of our *rugged* (cp. *tattered* = *tattered*). In the Induction to 2 *Henry IV* we have the line (35):

And this worm-eaten hold of ragged stone.

But the induction is probably not Shakespeare's; and this line raises the question of a Marlowe original.

in FAUSTUS (I, iii), and the previous speech of Queen Margaret is probably Marlowe's. When, however, Buckingham returns to press his claim, and is flouted by Richard, we are moved to surmise the hand of Heywood. Both this action and the Tyrrel scene which follows are virtually duplicated in EDWARD IV; and as they have in themselves no connection their juxtaposition here is in those circumstances a secondary ground for suspecting them. In any case they are more plausibly assignable to Heywood than to Marlowe; and they are not at all assignable to Shakespeare, though the speech of Richard at the end of scene II, with its

Fearful commenting
Is leaden servitor to dull delay

again suggests Shakespeare. In scene iv, begun by Marlowe, the Duchess's lines:—

Blind sight, dead life, poor mortal living ghost,
Woe's scene, world's shame, grave's due by life usurped,
Brief abstract and record of tedious days,
Rest thy unrest in England's lawful earth,
Unlawfully made drunk with innocents' blood,

are plainly pre-Shakespearean, and recall by their opening movement one in the FIRST PART OF THE CONTENTION (I, iv):—

Dark night, dread night, the silence of the night.

The five lines first cited certainly savour strongly of Kyd, as do the repetitive lines of Margaret and the Duchess, which shortly follow: but his "rest-unrest" tag had become a common one; and it cannot well be his hand that penned Margaret's later speeches, with the line:—

That I may live to say, The dog is dead.

The repetitions following that appear to be Marlowe's own. The "brief abstract," too, points to "an abstract or a brief" in EDWARD III (II, i, 82) which is certainly

not Kyd's work at this point; and such recurring spondaic line-forms as:—

Woe's scene, world's shame, grave's due by life usurped,
and

Earth gapes, hell burns, fiends roar, saints pray,
which cannot be Shakespeare's, all point so far to
Marlowe, who seems to have invented such progressions.
For instances:—

Break heart, drop blood, and mingle it with tears.

Faustus, v, iv. (1604 Q.).

Die life, fly soul, tongue curse thy fill, and die.

Jew of Malta, v, iv.

I do not remember any such lines in Kyd or Heywood¹: still the context here, as aforesaid, is very reminiscent of Kyd's style; and one is inclined to surmise a general collaboration of the two hands, or revision of one by the other. It is in these lines:—

Duch. Why should calamity be full of words?

Q. Eliz. Windy attorneys to their client woes,

Airy succeders of intestate joys,

Poor breathing orators of miseries!

Let them have scope; though what they do impart

Help nothing else, yet do they ease the heart,

that we seem clearly to catch the note of Shakespeare, still in his Romeo stage. The first is a subtle impeachment of what has gone before; yet ll. 105-113 might

¹ It is true that what may be termed staccato lines are found among the other pre-Shakespeareans. For instances:

Eyes, life, world, heavens, hell, night and day,

See, search, shew, send some man, some mean, that may—

Spanish Tragedy, III, ii, 22-23.

Fine drift, fair nymph, Orlando hopes no less.

Orlando Furioso. Dyce, p. 96b.

Wealth, trash; love, hate; pleasure, despair.

Friar Bacon. Dyce, p. 172a.

Fall, heavens; fleet, stars, shine Phæbus' lamps no more.

Edward I. Dyce, p. 389a.

Die, wretch; haste, death; for Joan hath lived too long.

Id. p. 414a.

But the definitely spondaic movement, found in the last-cited lines, seems to start with Marlowe, Greene's line in Friar Bacon being corrupt.

plausibly be assigned to his hand also. The next 212 lines (132-343) have 56 double-endings, pointing to Marlowe or to another reviser than Shakespeare; and the changed manner of lines 398-417 is only doubtfully different.

X.—THE RICHARD-ELIZABETH DIALOGUE: APPARENT CLUES TO HEYWOOD

The next question is whether the long dialogue between Richard and Queen Elizabeth, in which he at length works her to his will as he had previously swayed Anne in the first Act, is Marlowe's or a reviser's, or a mixture. The duplication of episode, as Professor Ward has noted, and most critics admit, is itself a constructive weakness, delaying the real action as if under the conviction that the rhetorical presentation of personality is the main interest. For nothing comes of it save a further inflation of the historical myth. Ambitiously written, the section as it stands suggests a deliberate expansion of the play; and Dr. Brandes, admitting the air of repetition, affirms that "Shakespeare lavished his whole art on the passage." Perhaps even the most conservative of critics will now admit that the lines:—

So she may live *unscarred of bleeding slaughter*,
I will confess she was not Edward's daughter,

do not represent the art of Shakespeare at all, and cannot possibly be his. Not only is the scene section wildly improbable, as Dr. Johnson complained: it is extravagantly drawn out, lengthening an already long scene by 230 lines. Lines 221-230 and 288-342, absent in the Quartos, had evidently been omitted from the stage copies as easily to be spared, even as line 160 is properly omitted as upsetting the context. The Folio text is here a primary manuscript one, not the acting copy.

But though Marlowe has prepared for this scene by the line (61):

I must be married to my brother's daughter

and the directions to Catesby to report that Anne is "sick and like to die" in scene ii of this Act (60), the style of much of the long-drawn dialogue between Richard and Elizabeth is not recognisably his, and its excessive length raises the question whether it has been expanded by some other hand, possibly Heywood's, with some verbal revision by Shakespeare. Thorough revision of the play there has not been. Not only is its chronology false, like that of the chronicle plays in general: it has been here dislocated by changes. This has happened before. In scene ii, where he talks of Anne being like to die, Richard tells Catesby to

Inquire me out some poor mean gentleman,
Whom I will marry straight to Clarence' daughter:
The boy is foolish, and I fear not him

—this just before giving Tyrrel his orders to slay the princes. In the very next scene, just after receiving Tyrrel's report, he says:—

The son of Clarence *have* I pent up close;
His daughter meanly *have* I matched in marriage. . .
And Anne my wife hath bid the world good night—

going on to announce that he is on his way to woo his brother's daughter. This would suggest a scene with the princess, not with her mother. And the proof of alteration seems complete when, after the mother has in this scene consented to Richard's marrying her daughter, we have Derby (Stanley) in the next scene sending Richmond the message that the Queen "hath heartily consented" to *his* marrying the princess. Early or late, the Richard-Elizabeth scene is an interpolation as it stands, though a lead to such a scene had been given in the primary play. Is it then Marlowe's own, or an imitator's?

Heywood is the only likely imitator here; the verse has not the flaccidity of Kyd's; and it is impossible to prove Heywood's presence with any completeness. Rupert Brooke has been able to demonstrate his authorship of *APPIUS AND VIRGINIA* (so absurdly assigned to Webster) by a series of special clues of vocabulary and phrase, Heywood having a large number of very peculiar terms, many of which he repeats in a number of plays; and Bullen's ascription to him of the anonymous play *THE CAPTIVES, OR THE LOST RECOVERED*, can be substantiated in the same way, as well as on general grounds. In a play revised by Shakespeare, such eccentricities would be pretty sure to be eliminated; and a scene section is at best a small area in which to identify an imitative writer, with no marked style of his own. But there are possible clues. (1) The word "circling," used in this scene (IV, iv, 382) is found elsewhere in the Shakespeare plays, only in the non-Shakespearean *TITUS* (II, iv, 19; III, i, 277), and they have no other instance of the verb "circle." That verb is often used by Heywood in his avowed plays. In Part II of *THE FAIR MAID OF THE WEST* (Pearson, i, 349) we have :

Wreathe thy front

Within a circled pyramis of gold ;

and again in the *FOUR PRENTICES* (Dodsley, ed. 1780, vi, 522) we have "circled with a royal crown," two applications of the word in the same sense as in the scene before us. The verb occurs also in *LOVE'S MISTRESS* (vol. v, p. 100) :

Circle her beauty in their catching arms,
and again (p. 159) :—

Circle Psyche in a fairy ring ;

also in 2 *EDWARD IV* (v, iii, 69) and in *APPIUS AND VIRGINIA* (IV, i, near end).

(2) Again, the word *victress* occurs only in this scene in all the Shakespeare plays; while Heywood has it

twice in his *DEORUM JUDICIUM*, Dialogue 18 (*Works*, vi, 252, 256). He has also the forms *conqueress*, *commandress*, (twice) *sovereigness* (and *sovereignty*), *judgess*, *sophistress*.

(3) The line :—

Urge the necessity and state of times,
though passed by all editors, seems to be a misarrangement of

Urge the *necessity of state and times*.¹

The phrase "necessity of State" does not occur elsewhere in the plays; but Heywood has it in the *IRON AGE* (Pearson, iii, 419) and in *APPIUS AND VIRGINIA* (i, i); and "the time's necessity" occurs in his *FOUR PRENTICES*, sc. i, in the *FAIRD MAID OF THE WEST*, Part II (Pearson, II, 363).

(4) The lines of Richard (216 and 405)

Lo! at their births *good stars were opposite*,
and

Be opposite, all planets of good luck,
are, I think, the only passages in the Shakespeare plays where "opposite" is used in the astrological sense. Now Heywood has the line :—

To whom all *good stars still were opposite*
in *THE GOLDEN AGE* (v, i, ed. Pearson, vol. iii, p. 75).

(5) The notably absurd use of the word *Lethe* in the lines :—

So in the *Lethe* of thy angry soul
Thou drown the sad remembrance of those wrongs,
matches Heywood's similarly fantastic use of it in *APPIUS AND VIRGINIA* (IV, i) :—

His memory to virtue and good men
Is still carousing *Lethe*.

(6) The word *unscarred*, in the couplet before quoted, occurs only here and in a non-Shakespearean passage

¹ Though Shakespeare has "the state of time" (1 *Henry IV*, iv, i, 25).

in *TIMON*, in all the plays. But Heywood uses the word thrice (*ENGLISH TRAVELLER*, III, ii, 8; *BRAZEN AGE*, Pearson, iii, 190; *ROYAL KING AND LOYAL SUBJECT*, Pearson, vi, 50); and the pleonasm "bleeding slaughter" is on a par with many of his, as "hostile enmity," "round circle," "unexpected novelties," "a weak unable impotence," "female dames," and so on. And he has "red slaughter" in the *BRAZEN AGE*.

But there are three once-used words in the scene which I have not noted in Heywood, and which, if all found in any contemporary, might give a decisive clue. One is the verb *demise* (l. 247), which I have found only in Drayton (*BARON'S WARS*, VI, vii). In two contextual lines, again (424-425) we have two other words which appear here only in all the plays—*spicery* and *recomforture*. These I have not noted elsewhere, save the first in Greene (*FRIAR BACON*: sc. ix, near end: Dyce, p. 170a) and in *CÆSAR'S REVENGE* (l. 913), neither a relevant clue here; and until they can be matched, and some fuller measure of parallelism of style can be made out, the case for Heywood must be reckoned imperfect. Other second-rate clues of phrase there are to him, however. (7) Of the three uses of "heart-strings" in the Shakespeare Concordance, that in this scene (l. 368)—

Harp on it still shall I till heart-strings break—

is the only case in which we have the figure of "breaking"; and that figure we find in Heywood (*FAIR MAID OF THE WEST*, III, iv. Compare *THE ENGLISH TRAVELLER*, V, ii, near end):—

I'll break her heart-strings with some false report.

(8) The phrase "purple sap" for blood (l. 277), again, suggests his uses of "juice" and "sanguine moisture" in that sense (*SILVER AGE* and *IRON AGE*: Pearson, iii, 157, 296). (9) It is just worth mentioning that *desperate* and *purchase*, occurring in this scene, are tic-words of his; and that *tender*, which occurs thrice, is common in

his work. Finally, (10) the phrase "imperial metal" (l. 382), and the line (244):—

The high imperial type of this earth's glory,
 hint at Heywood's "great imperial monarch" in *LUCRECE* (I, ii), his "high imperial robes" twice in *THE GOLDEN AGE* (IV, i, pp. 69, 80) "high imperial throne" in *IF YOU KNOW NOT ME* (Pearson, I, 238) and "high imperial majesty" and "high sovereign title" in *1 EDWARD IV* (I, i, 51, 53). "High imperial majesty," of course, points back to the opening of the *FIRST PART OF THE CONTENTION*, where the hand seems to be Peele's. But in the first scene of *EDWARD IV* the percentage of double-endings is 20, and this is too high for Peele or even for Munday and Chettle, to whom Fleay is inclined to assign it. Marlowe apart, Heywood thus remains the only satisfactory claimant on this score, he having certainly reached some such percentage of double-endings in early work.

Of course the above noted echoes between *RICHARD III* and Heywood's work may mean reminiscences on his part of words and phrases of Marlowe's; and we can but constate the scanty evidence. As to the play on *THE RAPE OF LUCRECE* there can be no question of Heywood's entire authorship; and the rhetoric of the scene between Elizabeth and Richard is not above the level of that performance, though it may be that Shakespeare slightly revised everything. Once more, the high rate of double-endings, rising in this scene above 25, cannot be Shakespeare's so early as 1593-4, or even 1597: it must be Marlowe's or another's. And if it be objected that there is no documentary evidence of Heywood's connection with Shakespeare's company, I would answer, first, that the man who had "either an entire hand or at the least a main finger" in 220 plays¹ must have done a

¹ Pref. to the *English Traveller*. It is perhaps doubtful whether the figure "220" was not merely a colloquial or loose expression for "a great many." "Twenty" was often so used, then as now.

great deal of miscellaneous collaboration; and, secondly, that about 1597 Heywood seems to have been unattached, his binding agreement with Henslowe being dated 1598. He had abundant talent and endless facility, always falling short of greatness, for lack of depth and judgment; a deficiency revealed at his outset in the *FOUR PRENTICES OF LONDON*, and at further length in his four *AGES*, and, Lamb notwithstanding, betrayed in some degree in all his plays, from the worst to the best—with perhaps the exception of *APPIUS AND VIRGINIA*. Just such defect of judgment is visible in the piling up of impossible dialogue in the protracted scene before us.

XI.—MARLOWE AND HEYWOOD CLUES

That the scene of Richard and Elizabeth is as it stands an expansion of the original play must be freshly felt, I think, when the action is resumed on her exit. Here the bustling movement is as likely as not to be Marlowe's, possibly revised by Shakespeare. Marlowe's, too, may possibly be the Buckingham scene, so ill placed at the beginning of Act v—probably by reason of the excessive length of Act iv; though the Buckingham scene at the end of 2 *EDWARD IV* suggests that here again Heywood may be at work in a matter he had handled elsewhere. The elimination from the Folio of eighteen lines (iv, ii, 103-120) of the scene in which Richard flouts Buckingham's demands, taken in connection with the insertion of a similar scene in 2 *EDWARD IV*, suggests, if anything, that the curtailed scene had been Heywood's to start with. To Heywood, much more readily than to Shakespeare, one might assign Richmond's speech, opening scene ii, with its "*wretched, bloody, and usurping boar,*" and "*your embowell'd bosoms.*" Heywood has "*unbowelled steeds*" (*LUCRECE*, v, vi) which is the meaning of "*embowelled*" here; and

"imbowelled steeds" in the IRON AGE. But here again the verbal clues seem to be to Marlowe, though the style is rather Heywood's, as sampled in THE BRAZEN AGE. "*Unbowelled*" occurs both in Marlowe's work and in Kyd's ("unbowelled steeds," SP. TRAG., I, ii, 61); and though "unbowelled bosoms" is nearly as cryptic as "embowelled bosoms," Marlowe's "*unbowel* straight this *breast*" (EDWARD II, v, iii, 10) gives the solution, indicating that "*embowelled*" is a corruption or a misprint. So, too, the speech of Richmond in scene iii, beginning:—

The weary sun hath made a golden set,

is probably Marlowe's own. And whatever debate there may be over portions of the Act, he must be a resolute champion of Shakespeare's authorship who will assign to him the parade of ghosts, with their sententious, uninspired speeches, and with King Henry's

When I was mortal, my anointed body
By thee was punched full of deadly holes!

"Holes" for wounds recalls the speech of Anne which savours so much of Kyd. The ignominious verb, found in no other drama of the period, so far as I remember, is not lightly to be assigned to any poet, much less to Shakespeare. Kyd in the SPANISH TRAGEDY has "*punched* his horse" (I, iv, 22); and Kyd as a devotee of ghost-scenes might conceivably have been called in for such an operation. Chapman, of all men, has "punch'd" in his translation of the Iliad (vi, 126):—

With a goad he punch'd each furious dame.

But not even the previous passage in the same Book (ll. 63-64),

In whose guts the King of men impressed
His ashen lance,

could reconcile us to the connection of Chapman with the lines under notice, or with the ghost parade as a

whole, were it not for his personal association with Marlowe. That he was in London in 1593 Fleay reasonably infers from his mention in his part of *HERO AND LEANDER* (iii, 195) that Marlowe had exhorted him to publish his *SHADOW OF THE NIGHT*; and this gives a connection with Marlowe which might have led to his doing a piece of dramatic work in a Marlowe play. But though it is nearly as hard to think of the "punch'd" line as coming from Marlowe, the "despair, therefore, and die," and the recurring imperative, point to the "Therefore despair" and the sequel in *FAUSTUS* (v, iv); and the solution may be that Chapman got his "punch'd," as he probably did some other terms, from the work of his dead friend,—unless it be that Kyd did the scene and echoed *FAUSTUS*.

XII.—MARLOWE IN THE FIFTH ACT

As to Richard's terror-stricken speech on his awakening there seems to be no ground for hesitation. The conventional acceptance of Shakespeare's authorship lays upon Mr Thompson the burden of avowing that the speech "is perhaps the weakest passage in the play. It seems to mark a stage in Shakespeare's development at which he was unequal to the psychological skill which such a speech required; and it may stand out as a conspicuous failure because it demanded more from him than any other speech in the play." Criticism cannot lightly be committed to such a position. Shakespeare, surely, had nothing to do with the matter, at any stage in his career. There is not a touch of his hand or thought in the entire scene: it is but a continuation of the primary presentment of the character in the old *TRUE TRAGEDIE*, adapted by Marlowe; and the terror-stricken avowal of guilt is only a variation of the crude

vaunt of villainy with which the play sets out. Given a terrified Richard, this is just how he should behave :—

O, no ! alas ! I rather hate myself
For hateful deeds committed by myself.
I am a villain ; yet I lie, I am not.
Fool, of thyself speak well ;

though the feeble diction suggests rather an imitator than Marlowe ; and rather Kyd than Heywood.

The phrase "coward conscience," remarks Mr. Thompson, "recalls HAMLET, III, i, 83, part of a speech which is a triumph in the very field in which this is a *first effort*." It is surely no effort of Shakespeare's. The versification in the two speeches is deeply different ; and the psychology here is simply that of the unsubtle monster of Marlowe, in which Shakespeare had no creative part. There was nothing new in the notion of "coward conscience" : it was not a specialty of phrase, like "wedges of gold," but a current formula ; and the idea associated with it in HAMLET is not that put here. The later lines of Richard :—

Conscience is but a word that cowards use,
Devis'd at first to keep the strong in awe ;
Our strong arms be our conscience, swords our law !¹

are pure Marlowe in style and in purport. Just as the Cardinal's scruples about breaking sanctuary are met by Buckingham in Act III, scene i :—

You are too senseless-obstinate, my lords,
Too ceremonious and traditional,

so are Sigismund's scruples about breaking faith, in Part II of TAMBURLAINE (I, i), met by Baldwin's

With such infidels
In whom no faith or true religion rests,
We are not bound to those accomplishments
The holy laws of Christendom enjoin ;

¹ Compare :

Our swords shall play the orator for us.

1 Tamb., I, ii.

and Frederick's

Assure your grace 'tis superstition
To stand so strictly on dispensive faith.

Similarly, the note of Richard is the note of Machiavel in the prologue to *THE JEW*, and of Guise in the *MASSACRE*, and of Barabas in general; while the pseudo-Machiavellian attitude towards "conscience" is abundantly flaunted in the play of *SELIMUS*, ascribed to Greene by all the external and much internal evidence. It is in all probability an imitation of Marlowe by Greene, with a determination to make a stand for rhyme and stanza in drama. As to Richard's last speech to his troops, which follows, there can be little question: it seems plain Marlowe. Richard's last cry, we know, comes from the primary play: if there be any Shakespeare in the closing scenes it is Catesby's appeal to Norfolk. The concluding scene suggests Peele, to whom Fleay at first ascribed the origination of the tragedy. But only here and there could that ascription be entertained; and as Fleay abandoned it, we may. Peele may have been a reviser of *RICHARD III*, as I think he was of *HENRY VI*; but it is hard to find his style in this play.

XIII.—SUMMARY

A scrutiny of the text, then, with an eye primarily to style, manner, and matter, and secondarily to phrase and vocabulary, broadly vindicates the thesis that this is a play of Marlowe's; and we cannot, with Fleay, call it an unfinished one completed by Shakespeare. Marlowe is more or less in it from the first Act to the last: Kyd seems to enter so markedly in certain scenes that one surmises primary collaboration on his part; and Heywood, I think, did a good deal of later eking out and expanding; but Shakespeare, however much he

may have revised, contributes only some six or seven speeches, some of them very short. Other collaborators or interveners there may have been, as admittedly happens in several of Marlowe's assigned plays, but a Marlowe play this remains, like the mutilated and altered *MASSACRE AT PARIS*. That this conclusion in any way detracts from the achievement of Shakespeare will not, I think, be seriously argued. The all-shadowing fame of Shakespeare can afford to yield to that of Marlowe the poetic credit of Clarence's dream, and that is the most that is involved.¹ The criticism which finds him aggrandised by such work as this play is blind not only to the swarming crudities and inferiorities of style which deny his authorship: it is blind to that prevailing inferiority in the psychology of the piece which Mr. Thompson has so frankly confessed. This play is early melodrama, not Shakespearean tragedy. The central figure, indeed, and one or two of the others, have that strong outline and driving energy which mark in some degree all Marlowe's plays; and this is not a small distinction; though *RICHARD III* is no such advance on *TAMBURLAINE* as is represented by *FAUSTUS* or *THE JEW*. Like Guise in the *MASSACRE*, Richard is a stereotyped villain-hero; and the play tells of no new inspiration on Marlowe's part. It is a continuation by him of a line of work which in the *HENRY VI* trilogy had been found to catch the public; and he probably wrote it, with collaboration from Kyd, or on the basis of a draft by him, as a commission from Shakespeare's company, in the last year or two of his life. By that time he had acquired much stagecraft, and knew how to handle a stirring action, in which Kyd could have helped him. Whatever may have been effected by his revisers, he has made

¹ The dream, however, was with many more speeches ejected from Cibber's "reformation" of the play; and Steevens asked, "What modern audience would patiently listen to the narrative of Clarence's dream?"—and the other excised passages. (Var. Ed., xix, 244.)

a play that is theatrically alive from end to end. At the same time, though he was but developing a form given him by the actors who first botched up the old RICHARD III, he achieved a prodigy of historical mystification, the masterpiece in the long phantasmagoria of distorted history which is constituted by the chronicle plays. By sheer force of dramatic percussion on the national mind, Marlowe has unwittingly established for centuries a notion of a man, and of a period, that is almost as essentially fabulous as the Song of Roland. Such manufacture of delusion—Aristotle and Lessing notwithstanding—has in retrospect its grievous side; but, as we have it, it is the achievement of a masterful faculty. Though Shakespeare's prestige has indeed shared in winning currency for the myth, it needed a vigorous craftsmanship in its kind, so to hypnotise posterity, swaying historians themselves to the acceptance of what they could not but see to be partly a travesty of the records. Included as it ought to be in Marlowe's works, the play would help to exhibit him as one of the most powerful and versatile playwrights even of that great age, unsurpassed at least in sheer creative productivity. But it is not a drama on the plane of CORIOLANUS or MACBETH, to say nothing of LEAR and OTHELLO. Richard is not a human being: he is but a compound of Marlowe's Tamburlaine and Barabas and Guise.

If we can see this, Shakespeare certainly saw it. He probably knew no more than his contemporaries what a mere partisan and dynastic legend is the Tudor account of Richard and his cause; and he can hardly have suspected it to be the tissue of sheer fraud that Sir Clements Markham has gone far to prove it to have been.¹ He may not even have known what wild havoc Marlowe made (as was his wont) with even the received chronology,

¹ *Richard III: His Life and Character reviewed in the light of Recent Research.* 1906.

making Richard a man in episodes at the time of which he was a child. On such points, Shakespeare was not likely to trouble himself, any more than he did over the legend of Macbeth, which is so far away from history. But he knew, better than any of us can, that Richard is not a possible personality; and if he had put his hand to the theme, even at the stage of his development at which he re-wrote KING JOHN or adapted RICHARD II, he would have given us a figure incomparably subtler and humanly truer—even if still *historically* unreal—than the traditionary cast-iron scoundrel of Marlowe, with his incongruous collapses of despair. That Shakespeare did so little to the play is one of the proofs of his high sagacity. Its drawing power depended precisely on its magnificent crudity; and the character is in keeping with the action. HAMLET he could transmute, at much cost of anomaly, from a barbaric tale of blood and crime to a study of souls. RICHARD III is not thus transmutable save by an entire re-writing. It was the property of his company; he therefore let it serve as it could, supplying as it did the most popularly effective part for his "fellow" Burbage; and it served equally for a series of later actors, including Garrick, whose performances made RICHARD III, by all accounts, the most popular of all the "Shakespeare" plays in his day. Yet only a handful of speeches and interpolations give it more right to be included among Shakespeare's works than the every way lamentable TITUS ANDRONICUS.

EPILOGUE

ON THE CHARACTER PROBLEM

Professor Alois Brandl,¹ endorsing the reminder of Dr. Furness to German readers that Shakespeare had been much laboured over by English critics before Lessing "discovered" him, answered (1) that the old German delusion on the subject had been dispelled by Furnivall's *CENTURIE OF PRAISE*, which led Hettner, after propounding the error for about half a century, to correct it in his fifth edition; and (2) that "Lessing discovered, not Shakespeare, but the fact that his art is as great as his genius."² And Lessing, who does in effect speak of the art of Shakespeare as faultless, and accepts *RICHARD III* without question as Shakespearean, does say in reference to that play³ that "all, even the smallest portions, are framed after the great measure of the historical drama."⁴ If the position of Lessing were as sound as is taken for granted by Professor Brandl, it would have been but fair to give the general credit for it to Wieland,⁵ from whom Lessing avowedly took his cue.⁶ But in his criticism of the *RICHARD III* of his contemporary Weisse, which motives his remarks, Lessing expressly condemns the very outstanding feature which that play, by his account, has in common with the play assigned to Shakespeare. A tragedy, he declares⁷ with Aristotle, must have for hero neither a wholly virtuous

¹ *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft*, Bd. 35 (1899), p. 322.

² This follows Gervinus, who followed Coleridge.

³ *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, St. 73.

⁴ The passage is mistranslated in the Bohn Library Lessing.

⁵ *Geschichte des Agathon*, 1766-7, ii, 192.

⁶ *Hamb. Dramat.* Stück 69.

⁷ *Id.*, St. 74.

nor an entirely bad man; and Weisse's tragedy has by his account missed its aim because it presents "the greatest, most abominable monster that ever trod the stage. I say the stage: that he ever really trod the earth, I doubt. What pity can the downfall of this monster awaken?"

What then of *our* play? In an earlier article,¹ giving play to his animus against French tragedy, Lessing had in advance condemned such plays as our RICHARD III. "It is against all nature," he declares, that a villain "should pride himself on crime *as* crime; and that poet is much to blame who from desire to say something brilliant and powerful lets us so misconceive the human heart, as if its fundamental leanings could thus be to evil *as* evil."

It is difficult to believe that when Lessing wrote thus, or even when he wrote à propos of the RICHARD III of Weisse, he had read the Shakespeare play. In the same article in which he condemns the art that makes villainy boast of itself as such, he declares that "against a woman who out of cold pride and premeditated ambition commits crimes, the whole heart revolts, and all the art of the poet cannot make her interesting to us. We . . . are irritated against the poet who would palm off on us such monstrosities as human beings whose acquaintance it is worth while to make." This, like the other passage on the boastful villain, is a fling at Corneille. It seems inconceivable that when Lessing wrote it he could have read MACBETH, which he in no way excepts from his unqualified praise in the later article. His "discovery" of the greatness of Shakespeare's art is thus rather problematical.

In the passage which in effect condemns such a creation as Lady Macbeth, Lessing has put a false generalization, as he too often does. Anti-French

¹ *Id.*, St. 30.

animus had vitiated his vision. In the condemnation of a dramatic hypostasis of hyperbolical villainy in the central figure of a tragedy, however, he was putting a criticism that must have suggested itself to many. It is the more desirable that his critical authority, such as it is, should not be mistakenly held to vindicate our RICHARD III. To say that Shakespeare's art is entirely faultless even where it is unadulterated is sufficiently rash. To certificate as faultless the non-Shakespearean art which created RICHARD III is to contribute very gratuitously to that never-ending process of mis-education which it is the task of true criticism to defeat.

The panegyric of our play is eloquently carried on by Dr. C. V. Boyer, of Illinois University, in his extremely interesting book on *THE VILLAIN AS HERO IN ELIZABETHAN TRAGEDY* :—

"The motive which governs Shakespeare's hero," he writes, "is ambition. He combines the lust of power found in *TAMBURLAINE* with a guile and intellectual astuteness far surpassing that of Barabas. *But with it all the character of Richard is real*; he is the first real villain we have had. His murders are no less atrocious than those of Selimus, his aspirations are more extraordinary; but the secret of Richard's reality—for we actually speak and think of him as a person—lies, it seems to me, in the naturalness of his speeches. He does not spurn the earth every time he opens his lips, but, on the contrary, speaks simply, *just as we should expect a man of his character to speak*. Hence his success or failure seems profoundly significant.¹

This vigorous dialectic visibly proceeds in a circle. The character is taken for granted as *previously thinkable*, while it is said to be *made thinkable* only by the naturalness of the speeches, these being such "as we should expect." In effect, Dr. Boyer has granted that, Richard being an exaggeration of Tamburlaine and Barabas, he is not *à priori* real unless these are. Then are they? If not, is it solely by reason of lack of naturalness in their speeches? Dr. Boyer has not previously

¹ Work cited, p. 79.

suggested that there is any such lack, or that they are failures on that score; and how, indeed, could he argue that the speeches of Barabas are *not* "just such as we should expect *a man of his character* to speak"? How do we get the character save from the speeches, with the actions? And do we not "speak and think of *him* as a person," just as we speak of any prominent type in fiction, whether well or ill drawn?

As to naturalness, there is but a difference of poetic power between the language of Richard in our play and that of him of the old TRUE TRAGEDIE; and there is not even that, as regards the soliloquies, between our Richard and him of the DUKE OF YORK or the Guise of the MASSACRE. They are all of a brand. In so far as our play runs to a much more variegated action than those of its predecessors, Richard's utterance becomes more various in key and manner, but that is all. Richard wooing is not more truly "natural" than Richard soliloquising. Does any one seriously say that the presentment of the wooing of Anne and the wheedling of Elizabeth—both gross historical figments—is within a thousand miles of "nature"?

The latest vindication of the dramatic art exhibited in RICHARD III would appear to be, with all its literary vivacity, but another testimony to the power of the spell of tradition over the critical instinct. All critics can see the *à priori* quality of Marlowe's characterization in Tamburlaine, in Barabas, in Guise. They see in the vigorous verse the "large utterance of the early gods" of the poetic stage; and they acknowledge the shaping power of the fantasy without professing to see in it any presentment of "real" human character. In the topmost flight of poetic diction we feel that Lear and Macbeth and Coriolanus are made of "the stuff of human nature," ideal though they be: in the case of Marlowe's figures we cannot so feel, save partially as to Barabas.

It is only the long association of this other Marlovian figure with the great name of Shakespeare that can capacitate any good student to think of it as worthy to be of his creation. One may venture, then, to hope that when the problem is approached by way of a concrete exposition of the Marlovian authorship of the play, the æsthetic problem may fall into its "natural" place.

As to the question of truth of history, which though extraneous to the documentary problem is partly involved in that of the problem of the "truth to nature" of the character, Dr. Boyer is inclined to accept the general view of Mr. James Gairdner that the Crookback of the play is "in all essential particulars faithful to the Richard of history."¹ He says nothing of the contrary view, insistently set forth by a long series of writers from Sir George Buck and Horace Walpole to Sir Clements Markham. A careful study of that question will reveal to the open-minded reader that even Mr. Gairdner has definitely repudiated many vital items in the historic legend,² and that the positions to which he adheres are not really tenable. There is in fact a good opening for anyone with the rare faculty of historical drama to pen a play in which the burden of villainy is shifted from Richard to Henry VII, the scoundrel king. Every "natural" presumption, and all the real documentary evidence, tell against the theory that Richard caused the murder of the princes, and in favour of the view that they were disposed of by Henry in 1486.

But that is a strictly historical issue, standing apart from the one handled in the foregoing essay. It is raised here merely in the hope that a genuinely historical study of the last of the Plantagenets may help students to clarify their thinking as to what is and what is not true presentation of human nature. With regard to *Macbeth*,

¹ Work cited, p. 84 and *note*.

² For instance, the murder of Clarence by Richard's instigation.

the historical facts are irrelevant. He is "out of space, out of time," on that side, a pure figment of creative poetic drama, and as such a masterpiece, whether or not the play be of Shakespeare's origination. To come to a conclusion on our æsthetic problem, after studying the concrete facts, we have but to "Look upon this picture, and on this."

INDEX

A

- Agincourt, Story of, in *Henry V*, 3, 55 sq.
 Alexander, Sir William. *See* Stirling, Lord
A Lover's Complaint, xii
 Alphonsus Emperor of Germany, viii, xiii, 98, 110
 Antony, 101; oration of, in *Julius Cæsar*, 66, 67, 69, 74, 104 sq., 113, 119 sq., 128, 133
Antony and Cleopatra, 79, 98
 Appian, 120, 125, 134, 150, 151
Appius and Virginia, xiii, 183
Arden of Feversham, 26, 105, 133
 Aristotle, 193, 195
 Ayres, H. M., on French Cæsar-dramas, 94, 125

B

- Barabas, Marlowe's, 193, 197
 Bayfield, M. A., on Antony's oration, 66, 104
 Boas, Prof., cited, 149
 Boecker, Dr. A., 94, 150 sq.
 Boyer, Dr. C. V., on *Richard III*, 197 sq.
 Boyle, Robert, on Shakespeare and Massinger, ix sq.
 Bradley, Dr. A. C., on verse tests, 67
 Brandes, G., on Shakespeare's Cæsar, 83, 94
 Brandl, Prof. A., 195
 Brooke, Rupert, xiii, 164, 183
 Browning, on *Henry VIII*, ix
 Brutus, character of, 86 sq., 101, 125
 Buck, Sir G., 199
 Bullen, A. H., 183
 Burbage, 194
Bussy d'Ambois, 148

C

- Cæsar, character of, 83 sq., 124 sq., 153; French plays on. *See* Garnier, Grévin, Muret.
Cæsar and Pompey, Chapman's, 77, 98, 140; earlier plays on, 95, 96, 123, 134, 135, 140
Cæsar's Fall, 96, 135 sq., 152
Cæsar's Revenge, 96, 98, 110, 124, 134 sq.
 Cassius, character of, 80 sq., 86
Cesare, Pescetti's, 94, 125, 150

- Chapman, style of, xi, 29, 144, 146, 147 sq.; tags of, 37, 77, 147; in *Henry V*, 44, 55 sq., 59 sq.; vocabulary clues to, 45 sq., 60, 141 sq., 147, 188; on the multitude, 77; on Cæsar, 77, 140; on women, 92, 145 sq.; share of, in *Julius Cæsar*, 140 sq., 148 sq., 151; artistic faults of, 146, 147; his use of the "split infinitive," 148
 Choruses in *Henry V*. *See* Prologues.
 Chronicle plays, evolution of, 15 sq., 92
 Chronology and metrics of the Shakespeare plays, 4 sq., 54 sq., 66 sq.
 Churchill, G. B., on the old *Richard III*, 161, note
 Clarence's dream, in *Richard III*, 120, 161, note, 171 sq.
 Coleridge, 86
 Comic relief in *Henry V*, 2, 3, 7, 12, 52
Contention . . . of York and Lancaster, 15, 18, 162
Coriolanus, political tone of, 76; power of, 79, 93, 198
 Corneille, Lessing and, 196
 Courtenay, on *Henry V*, 10, 58
Cynthia's Revels, 72, 74

D

- Daniel, P. R., on date of *Henry V*, 5; on the Quarto, 35; on *Richard III*, 156
 — Samuel, on the multitude, 79; cited, 93, 131
 Davies, Sir John, 144
 Dekker, 20, 30; prologues of, 32 sq., influence of Shakespeare on, 33; on the multitude, 78, note
 De Quincey, on handling of time in Shakespeare, 82
 Dio Cassius, 120
 Double-endings, percentages of, xii sq., 6 sq., 12 sq., 30, 55, 67, 105, 120 sq., 132, 156, 159, 164, 169, 186
 Dowden, Prof., 10
Downfall of the Earl of Huntington, 54, 105, note
 Drayton, 20, 58, note, 61, 93, 96, 133 sq.; parallels to, in *Julius Cæsar*, 74 sq., 126 sq., 151, 153; on the multitude, 77 sq., 79, note
 Dryden, 86

E

- Edward I*, 23
Edward II, 19, 25, 161
Edward III, 1, 4, 17 sq., 25, 35, 41 sq., 52, 117
Edward IV, 31, 163 sq.
 Elizabeth, Queen, in *Richard III*, 181 sq.
 Elton, Prof., on *Henry V*, 53, note;
 on Drayton, 134
 Essex, Earl of, 5, 22
 Evidence, principles of, viii sq.

F

- Falstaff, 2, 6, 21
Famous Victories of Henry V, 1, 14 sq.
 Fleay, F. G., on *Henry V*, 1, 14;
 metrical tables of, 6 sq., 156;
 on development of double-endings,
 9, note; on *Julius Cæsar*, 69 sq.,
 97 sq., 136, 138, 152; on Greene's
 Groatsworth of Wit, 122; on
 Richard III, 156, 191; on *Edward*
 IV, 163, 186; on Chapman, 189;
 on *Troilus and Cressida*, 144
 Fluellen, 36, note
 French, in Elizabethan plays, 61
 French plays on Cæsar. See
 Garnier, and Grévin.
 Furness, H. H., Jr., on Cæsar, 83;
 on German Shakespeare criticism,
 195
 Furnivall, Dr., on *Henry V*, 10
 sq., 16, note; on Fleay's theory
 of *Julius Cæsar*, 70; on pre-
 Shakespearean matter in *Hamlet*,
 70

G

- Gairdner, J., on *Richard III*, 199
 Garnier, 94, 112, 125, 149
 German criticism, 195 sq.
 Gildon, on *Julius Cæsar*, 79
 Greene, in *Edward III* and *Henry*
 V, 17; collaboration of, with
 Marlowe, 20; influence of Mar-
 lowe on, 26, 109; tags of, viii,
 38 sq.; allusions by, to a Cæsar
 play, 108-9; trace of, in *Arden*,
 26
 Greg, Dr. W. W., cited, 135, 164
 Grévin, 94, 125
 Guise, Marlowe's, 160, 161, 193,
 198

H

- Hamlet*, perplexities of construction
 in, 94, 194

- Henry IV* plays, 2, 6, 7, 8, 15;
 prologue to Pt. II., 76
Henry V, origination of, 1-65;
 matter and style of, 2, 6, 9 sq.,
 51 sq.; prologues of, 5 sq., 22
 sq., 31 sq.; chronology and metrics
 of, 4 sq., 16 sq.; psychology of,
 6, 18, 26 sq., 29, vocabulary clues
 in, 37 sq., 45 sq.; summary view
 of, 51 sq.
Henry VI trilogy, 1, 15-16, 20
Henry VII, character of, 199
Henry VIII, ix sq.
 Henslowe's Diary, 16, 95
 Hettner, 195
 Heywood, T., xiii, 16, 30, 31, 107;
 prologues of, 31 sq.; style of, 33
 sq., 44, 183, 186; possible pre-
 sence of in *Henry VI* as reviser,
 163; in *Richard III*, 163 sq., 179,
 183 sq., 187 sq.; imitation of
 Marlowe by, 164; vocabulary of,
 183; industry and limitations of,
 186 sq.; authorship of *Edward*
 IV, 163 sq.; of *Appius and Vir-*
 ginia and *The Captives*, xiii,
 183; echoes of Shakespeare in,
 143

I

- Idiom, clues of, 114 sq., 138

J

- Johnson, Dr., on *Henry V*, 61;
 on *Julius Cæsar*, 82; on *Richard*
 III, 181
 Jonson, Ben, xi; vocabulary of,
 51, 54; inferred revision of
 Julius Cæsar by, 69 sq., 89 sq.,
 134 sq., 139, 152, 154; artistic
 method of, 71 sq.; on Shake-
 speare's phrasing, 73, 137, 154;
 passage in *Cynthia's Revels*, 74,
 138; on the multitude, 76, 77
 sq.; on political women, 92, 138;
 taste of, 125; memory powers
 of, 129; anti-Cæsarean, 77, 138
 sq.; verse of, 139.
Julius Cæsar, origination of, 66-
 154; versification of, 67, 104,
 106; anomalies of, 67 sq., 79
 sq., 85 sq., 90 sq., 99, 154;
 inferred revision of, by Jonson
 (see Jonson); a double play, 97
 sq., 99 sq., 104, 136, 137; pre-
 Shakespearean play underlying,
 103 sq., 123 sq., 140, 149; con-
 ception of the hero in, 123 sq.;
 summary view of, 149 sq.;
 matter lost from, 153 sq.
 — Earl of Stirling's, 96

K

- Kannengiesser, 87 *note*
King John, plays on, 16
 Knight, Charles, on the *Henry V* prologues, 6, *note*
 König, metrical tables of, 7
 Kyd, tags of, viii; in *Titus Andronicus*, 24; possible traces of, in *Henry V*, 25; double-endings in, viii, 26, 121, *note*, 169; plays assignable to, 105; style of, 106; his *Cornelia*, 112; his relations with Marlowe, 112, 149 *sq.*, 167 *sq.*; originality of, 120; death of, 151, *note*; in *Richard III*, 167 *sq.*, 189, 191; apparent entrance of, in *Tamburlaine*, 24, 168; hand of, in *Edward III*, 168; in 3 *Henry VI*, 168; in the primary *Richard III*, 170; possible origination of a *Richard III* by, 170.

L

- Lang, A., on Shakespeare's view of the populace, 76, *note*; on the verse of Clarence's dream, 161, *note*
 Lee, Sir Sidney, on *Richard III*, 157
 Lepidus, handling of, in *Julius Cæsar*, 101, 103
 Lessing, 195 *sq.*
 Locrine, 174, *note*
 Lodge, 134
Lover's Complaint, A, xii

M

- Macbeth*, early form of, 105
 McCallum, Prof. M. W., on *Julius Cæsar*, 66, 87, *note*, 102 *sq.*, 125, 151, *note*
 Macmillan, M., his edition of *Julius Cæsar*, 70, 75; his comments, 75 *sq.*, 79, 83, 84, 86, 87, 99, 129, 130
 Madden, Dr. D. H., on *lethe*, 143, *note*
 Malone, on *Henry V*, 1, 58, *note*
 Margaret, Queen, in *Richard III*, 170 *sq.*
 Markham, Sir Clements, 193
 Marlowe, dramatic method of, 10, *note*, 92; psychology of, 19, 28, 160 *sq.*; probable development of, 19, 20; in *Henry V*, 25, 26 *sq.*, 35, 55 *sq.*; in *Edward III*, 30, 169 *sq.*; prologues of, 30; tags of, viii, 13, 26, 35, 38 *sq.*, 172 *sq.*, 175 *sq.*, 188; management of time by, 82, 92, 182, 193;

originality of, 120, 161, 170, 193; double-endings in, 103, 121, 161; in *Julius Cæsar*, 92, 106 *sq.*, 113 *sq.*, 119 *sq.*; allusions by, to *Cæsar*, 106 *sq.*, 111 *sq.*; lost plays by, 107; fate of his work, 123; connection of, with Kyd, 102, 149, 167 *sq.*; in *Richard III*, 156 *sq.*, 160 *sq.*, 169, 189 *sq.*, 191 *sq.*; style of, 161, 180, 198

Mason, Monck, on *Henry V*, 58, *note*

Massacre at Paris, *The*, 122, 190

Massinger, ix, *sq.*, 27, *note*

Measure for Measure, treatment of time in, 81 *sq.*

Meredith, George, on *Henry VIII*, ix

Meres, 5

Merry Wives, *The*, 63, *note*

Middleton, 96

Morley, Prof. H., 53, 58, *note*

Mountjoy, 5, *note*

Multitude, the, Elizabethan views of, 76 *sq.*

Munday and Chettle, 16, 54, 96, 164, 186

Muret, 94, 124 *sq.*, 149

N

Nashe, cited, 15

Nicomedes, 125, 144

Nym, 4

O

Octavius, 101, 134 *sq.*

Oldcastle, Sir John, 22

Old Fortunatus, 32 *sq.*, 78, *note*

Oliphant, E. H. C., on *Henry V*, 1, *note*, 3, 64; on *Julius Cæsar*, 67, 97

Omens, in *Julius Cæsar*, *Henry V*, and *Edward III*, 117

Othello, management of time in, 81 *sq.*

P

Parrott, Prof., on evolution of double-endings, xii *sq.*; on *Alphonsus of Germany*, 110, *note*
 Peele, 20 *sq.*; style of, 22 *sq.*, 24, 28 *sq.*, 34, 110; traces of, in *Henry V*, 22 *sq.*; 28 *sq.*; allusions by, to a *Cæsar* play, 108; in the *Massacre at Paris*, 122; in *Henry VI*, 191; tics of phrase in, viii *sq.*

Percy, Harry, 2

Pericles, prologue to, 76

Pescetti, his *Cesare*, 94, 125, 150

- Phrase clues, viii, x, 26 sq., 35, 37 sq., 47 sq., 75, 77 sq., 105, 113 sq., 127, 134, *note*, 138, 142, 144, 166, 172, 173 sq., 175 sq., 178 sq., 181 sq., 183 sq.
 Plutarch, presentment of Cæsar in, 83 sq., 85 sq.; presentment of Portia in, 90 sq.
 Pollard, A. W., and J. Dover Wilson, vii, 1, *note*, 36, 37, 162, *note*
 Pooler, C. Knox, ix, xii, *note*
 Portia, account of her death in *Julius Cæsar*, 87 sq., 102; character of, 90 sq., 137, 140, 145, 147
 Price, H. T., on *Henry V*, 2, *note*, 62 sq.; on the *Quarto*, 36
 Prologues non-Shakespearean, 5 sq., 8, 22 sq., 30, 31 sq.

R

- Resch, 87, *note*
Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois, 59, 77
 Rhythm, test of, xi, xii
Richard II, authorship of, 1, 16, *note*; dating of, 155; metrics of, 156, 159
Richard III, authorship of, 1, 120, 155-194; psychology of, 155, 174, 189 sq., 192; metrics of, 155 sq., 189, 192; style of, 155, 157, 171 sq.; dating of, 155 sq., 159, 191 sq.; anachronisms of, 170; character of the hero, 174, 189 sq., 192 sq., 195 sq.; effectiveness of the play, 165, 193 sq.
Richard Duke of York, 15, 26, 34, 160 sq.
 Roses scene, in *Henry VI*, 120 sq.
 Rowley, Samuel, 15
 — William, verse of, xii

S

- Schmidt, on *Julius Cæsar*, 79
 Schoell, Prof., on Chapman, 37, *note*
 Schücking, Prof. L. L., cited, 84, 95
Sejanus, 80, 139
Selinus, 191
 Senecan tragedy, 94, 124
 Shakespeare, verse of, xi sq., 2, 6, 12 sq., 38, 67, 89, 104, 119, 158 sq., 161; ideals of, 3, 10, 55, 153; taste of, 105, 117; echoes in, 131; share of, in *Henry V*, 55, 57, 58, 60 sq.; share of, in *Julius Cæsar*, 89, 90 sq., 137, 152; his view of the multitude,

- 76 sq.; his function of transmutation, 95, 152; art of, 154, 195 sq.; treatment of history by, 84, 144; share of, in *Richard III*, 158 sq., 178.
Sir John Oldcastle, 93, 133 sq.
 Smith, C. Moore, on *Henry V*, 3-4; on *Edward III*, 4
 Spedding, ix
 "Split infinitive" in *Julius Cæsar*, 147
 Spondaic lives, 179 sq.
 Stirling, Lord, his *Julius Cæsar*, 96, 136
 Style test, importance of, viii sq.
 Sussex, Earl of, 149
 Sykes, H. Dugdale, use of clues by, viii sq.; on authorship of *The Troublesome Raigne of King John*, viii; of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ix sq.; of *The Famous Victories of Henry V*, 15; of *Warning for Fair Women*, 105; of *Alphonsus of Germany*, viii, 110

T

- Tamburlaine, alterations in, 24
 Tarlton, 14 sq.
 Thomas, Lord Cromwell, 133
 Thompson, A. H., on *Richard III*, 156 sq., 173, *note*, 189, 190
 Time, Shakespeare's management of, 81 sq.
Timon of Athens, marks of revision in, 89
Titus Andronicus, xii, xiii, 24, 194
 Trench, Archbishop, on *Julius Cæsar*, 71, 79
Troilus and Cressida, prologue to, 31 sq., 33 sq., 76 sq., 144, 153
Troublesome Raigne of King John, *The*, viii, 16
True Tragedy of Richard III, 15, 161, 165
 — — — of *Richard, Duke of York*, 15, 26, 34, 160 sq.
Two Noble Kinsmen, *The*, ix sq.
Two Shapes, *The*, 96, 135

U

- Unity of time in Shakespeare, 82

V

- Versification of Shakespeare, xi sq., 2, 6, 12 sq., 67 sq., 89, 104, 119, 158 sq., 161

Virgil, 27
 Vocabulary clues, 2, *note*, 5, 26 *sq.*,
 34 *sq.*, 37 *sq.*, 45 *sq.*, 54 *sq.*, 113
sq., 126 *sq.*, 141 *sq.*, 166, 171,
 172 *sq.*, 178 *sq.*, 178, 183 *sq.*,
 187 *sq.*
 Voltaire on *Henry V*, 54, 61; on
Julius Cæsar, 153

W

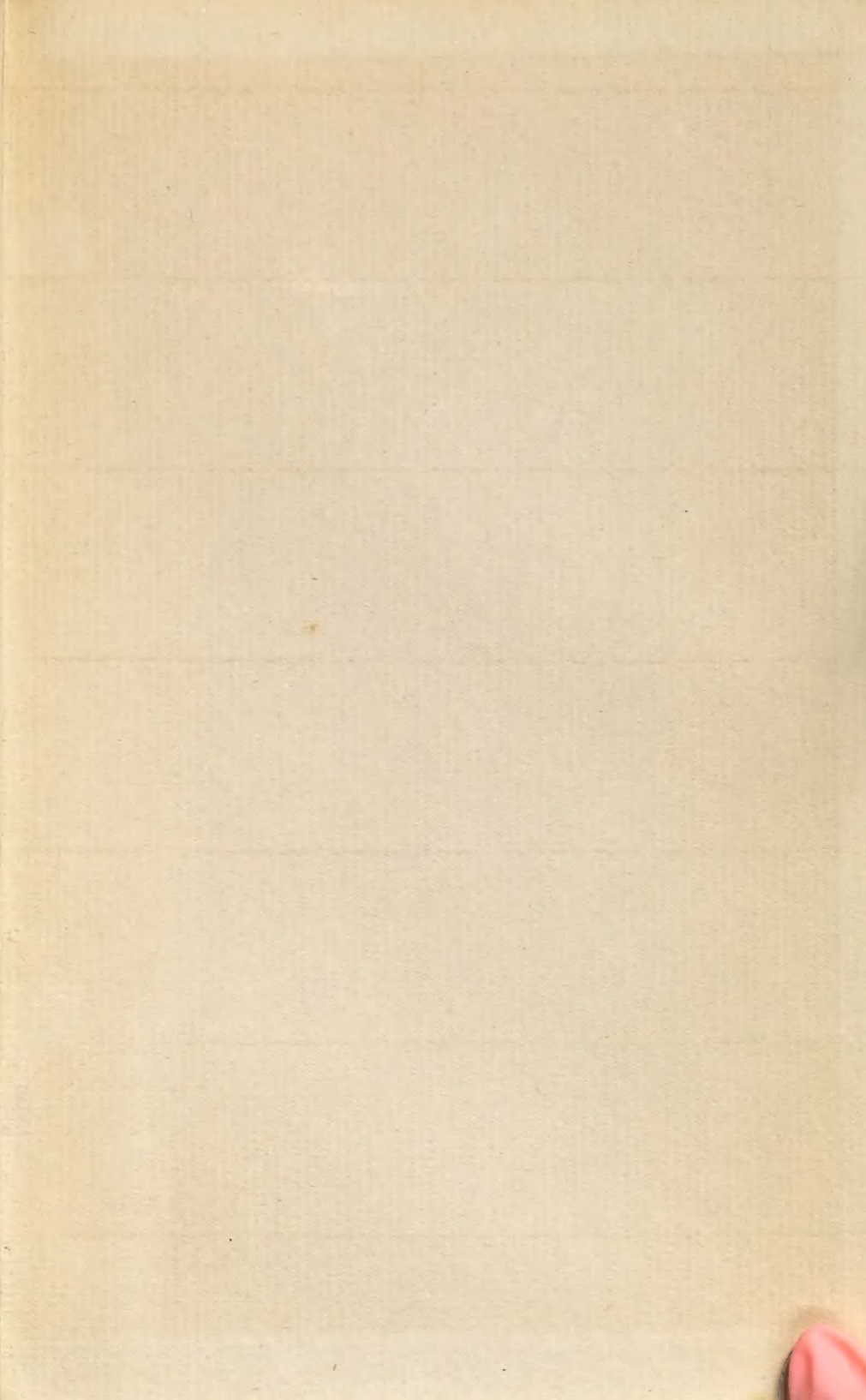
Walpole, Horace, 199
 War, treatment of, in chronicle
 plays, 2, 92 *sq.*
 Warburton, 72, *note*, 80, *note*, 104

Ward, Prof. A. W., on *Julius
 Cæsar*, 80; on *Richard III*, 157,
 181
Warning for Fair Women, A, 105,
 133, 172, *note*
 Warton, cited, 23, *note*
 Webster, xiii, xiv
 Weever, allusion by, to *Julius
 Cæsar*, 96
 Weisse, Lessing on, 195 *sq.*
 White, R. G., cited, 75
 Wieland, 195
 Women, Chapman's view of, 92,
 145 *sq.*; Jonson's, 92
 Wright, Dr. W. Aldis, on Fleay's
 theory of *Julius Cæsar*, 70 *sq.*,
 79; dating of play by, 96; on
 dating of *Richard III*, 155 *sq.*

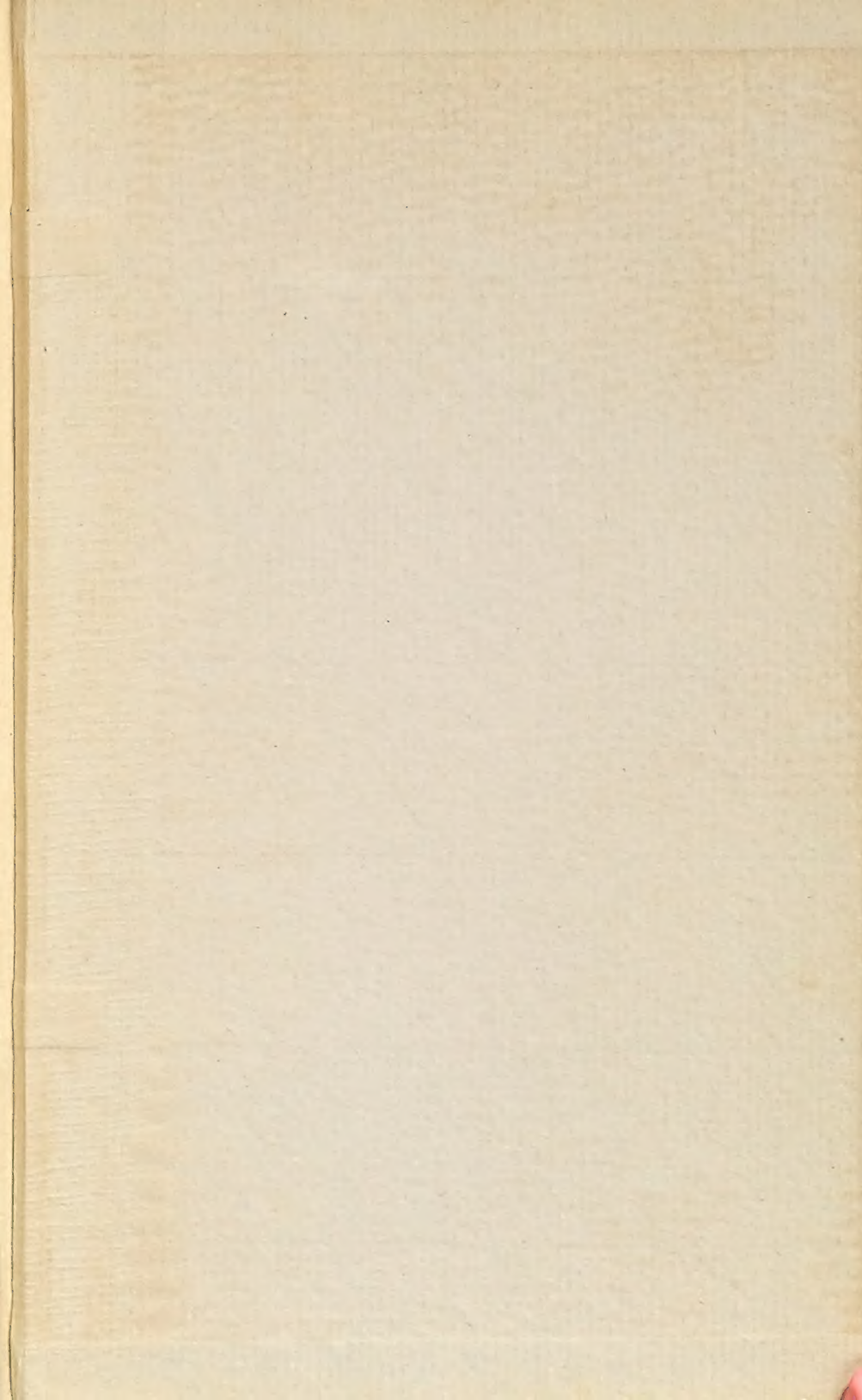












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